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Gerasimov 24 Nov Briefing to Journalists

Lists Delegation to Summit

LD241417 Moscow TASS in English 1410 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 24 TASS—Answering questions at a briefing here today, Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, said the delegation that would accompany Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on his forthcoming official visit to the United States would include:

Eduard Shevardnadze, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR,

Aleksandr Yakovlev, a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee,

Anatoliy Dobrynin, a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee,

Vladimir Kamentsev, a deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR,

Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev, chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces and first deputy defense minsiter of the USSR,

Anatoliy Chernyayev, an aide to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee,

And Yuriy Dubinin, a member of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU and ambassador of the USSR to the United States.

Notes 'Hostility' of Americans

LD241400 Moscow TASS in English 1343 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 24 TASS—Busy preparations for the forthcoming summit between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan are reaching the climax in Moscow, Washington and Geneva as the last remaining details of the projected INF (Intermediate Nuclear Forces) treaty are cleared up and the problems of strategic offensive arms, the ABM Treaty and other important issues of Soviet-American relations are scrutinized in an all-round way, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Speaking at a briefing here today, Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, pointed also to the sides' businesslike and constructive mood.

"However — and this is certainly no surprise to those familiar with America's political scene — the sufficiently influential forces opposed to any change for the better in U.S.-Soviet relations have become visibly more active as well," he added.

"These forces have mounted their own preparations for the summit and been issuing all manner of 'reports' and 'studies', rehashing myths of a 'Soviet threat' and palming off provocative falsehoods and rumors to the mass media.

"The anti-Soviet forces have not bypassed the issue of Mikhail Gorbachev's expected speech in Congress either. The matter is that invitations addressed to the Soviet leader have come from dozens of senators and congressmen, including the leaders of both the Senate and the House, who are willing to take advantage of a unique opportunity for a substantive and constructive conversation.

"This natural desire for direct communication, for contacts at political leadership level has caused a veritable panic among the ultras attempting to complicate such dialogue in every way," Gerasimov said.

"But it is, of course, not this sentiment of blind hostility that makes the dominant feeling of Americans. Most of them are looking forward to the upcoming Soviet-American summit talks with approval and hope," he said.

Denies Charges of DRA 'Terror'

LD241327 Moscow TASS in English 1259 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 24 TASS—From a TASS diplomatic correspondent:

The "Voice of America" radio station broadcast commentaries "reflecting the viewpoint of the government of the United States." They alleged that Soviet and Afghan troops pursued a "tactic of terror" with respect to the civilian population of Afghanistan, specifically, used disguised booby traps against children.

Those allegations are false from beginning to end and are ill-intentioned, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., told the TASS diplomatic correspondent in a telephone interview. There are no grounds whatsoever for such allegations, not a single fact that would provide a pretext for suspecting the Soviet Union, or the government of Afghanistan, of using "terror tactics", let alone, of cruelty. Such facts simply do not exist in nature.

This anti-Soviet disinformation campaign, the Foreign Ministry spokesman went on, reflects the desire of certain quarters in the United States to poison the atmosphere in the run-up to the meeting between the leaders of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. — at a moment when public opinion in our countries eagerly expects genuine and positive changes in the Soviet-American relations.

Explosive devices disguised as pens and toys can really be encountered in Afghanistan. Their victims are civilians, especially children. The manufacture and use of

such devices is the deed of those who are planning and waging the war against the legitimate government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Such booby traps are handed to bandits in Afghanistan together with Stinger missiles that downed six civilians planes with innocent passengers, including children, aboard in the duration of this year.

This is not the first time that U.S. propaganda services, the "Voice of America" among them, are harboring actual criminals, by spreading disinformation. It looks like they are playing the role of accomplices in the killings of peaceful civilians, by trying to throw international investigative efforts off track.

Such actions, moreover, are devised to create additional obstacles on the road to the solution of the Afghan problem — an area where Soviet-American contacts on the matter could play their important role too, Gennadiy Gerasimov emphasized.

A relevant verbal statement was made to the U.S. Embassy in Moscow November 23.

U.S.-Spanish Bases' Negotiations Examined

PM231253 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Nov 87 Second Edition p 5

[Vladimir Chernyshev "Commentator's Column": "Second Series"]

[Text] Madrid — Spain has officially informed the United States that it is refusing to automatically extend the bilateral treaty which has been in effect since 1982.

Madrid had warned repeatedly of the possibility of such a step since negotiations began between the two countries in July last year on reducing the U.S. military presence in Spain. The Spanish side declared at the very first meeting that, if an accord was not reached with regard to a "substantial reduction" in the U.S. armed forces, it would have to denounce the treaty under which U.S. military bases are stationed in Spain. Madrid demanded that the United States remove its 72 F-16 aircraft based at Torrejon de Ardoz close to the Spanish capital and also the 5 tanker aircraft at the U.S. military base at Zaragoza.

For almost 16 months, as the talks dragged on, Washington categorically refused to withdraw the aircraft from Torrejon, claiming that they are important to the defense of NATO's southern flank and, generally, "to the West's defense."

But what does Madrid's refusal to automatically extend the treaty with Washington mean in practice? The document expires in May 1988. During the time that remains the sides are to discuss a new text. However, the sticking point will be the same: Spain's firm demand for the aircraft to be removed. Unless this condition is fulfilled, it is officially declared here, there can be no question of signing a treaty. But people on the other side of the ocean evidently hope that it will be easier to break unyielding Spain in the course of negotiations.

In theory — if the sides are unable to reach agreement in 6 months — the treaty will be considered to have been torn up, and the United States will have a year left in reserve to eliminate all the military bases which have been on Spanish territory ever since 1953. However, such an outcome is ruled out both in Madrid and in Washington. It was no coincidence that, after the seventh round of talks, when it became clear that the United States would not satisfy Spain's demands and that the latter would announce its refusal to automatically extend the treaty, the Spanish delegation urged the mass media "not to dramatize" the situation. Moreover, the press reported that the possibility of suggesting to the United States that they jointly reject an extension, so that that step would not be just a unilateral action by Spain, was even discussed in the Foreign Ministry here. Commentators also evaluated as an attempt to calm the Spanish public the sides hastening to announce that the next meeting between the two countries' delegations would be as early as December. High-ranking figures in both capitals expressed themselves in this spirit, although they did admit that the upcoming second series of negotiations will, to all appearances, be no less difficult than their beginning was.

International Situation: Questions & Answers

LD202035 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 20 Nov 87

["International Situation—Questions and Answers" program presented by Konstantin Patsyuk, All-Union radio commentator, with Colonel Viktor Ivanovich Filatov, military journalist, member ofthe editorial board of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA; Vladimir Pasko (not further identified); Rafail Nadzhipovich Moseyev, international affairsjournalist; Sergey Pravdin (not further identified); and New York correspondent Vladimir Gerasichev]

[Excerpts] [Patsyuk] Hello, esteemed comrades. I begin the broadcast, as always, with letters from listeners. Comrades Solovey from the town of Zhodino in Minsk Oblast, Petrov from Novocherkassk, and others ask when the limited contingent of Soviet troops will be withdrawn from Afghanistan. In particular, Comrade Solovey believes that the Afghan people are themselves able to establish order in their own home. We have invited to our microphone today Colonel Viktor Ivanovich Filatov, military journalist and member of the editorial board of *Krasnaya Zvezda*. He has been in Afghanistan on more than one occasion on jobs for the newspaper's editorial office and has also visited Soviet subunits. Over to you, Viktor Ivanovich:

[Filatov] Konstantin Nikolayevich, I remember a trip to a motorized rifle regiment which was deployed on the outskirts of Kunduz. At that time Lieutenant-Colonel Skorodumov was still in command of the regiment. The companies in that regiment literally did not leave action. [passage omitted]

[Patsyuk] Viktor Ivanovich, did you ever meet the commander of that regiment again?

[Filatov] Last year, Konstantin Nikolayevich, I once again found myself in Kunduz attending activities celebrating the return to the homeland of our seevicemen. That same motirized rifle regiment was returning home. [passage omitted] Now, I think, it is understandable why I told you about meeting that regiment. On that occasion, six of our combat regiments returned home from Afghanistan and among them was also the one which I visited. At the present time a schedule has been drawn up for the withdrawal of other units and subunits. So, to ask when our troops will be withdrawn from Afghanistan is not an accurate question — the withdrawal has already begun. Naturally we would like the withdrawal to be completed as soon as possible. It is always better at home. However, everything does not depend just on us. The cruel counterrevolution, internal and external, has to date not only not reduced attacks on the republic, but has intensified them. I think this is the reason why our soldiers are still there now. If they were not there it is difficult to say how events would develop around and inside Afghanistan itself.

[Patsyuk] Viktor Ivanovich, who at the moment is among the ranks of the counterrevolution?

[Filatov] First and foremost, it is feudal lords, stooges of the former king. Then there are comprador bourgeoisie, reactionary tribal chiefs, usurers, members of the old officer class and state administration, reactionary circles of the Islamic clergy, and all of those whom the revolution deprived of the possibility of becoming rich at the expense of the poverty and hunger of the people. The United States is the chief initiator and organizer of anti-Afghan actions. Widescale subversive acts against Afghanistan have become, as the United States itself admits, the largest U.S. secret operation since the end of the Vietnam war. The United States has given more than $2 billion for the undeclared war against the DRA. Hundreds of U.S., British, Pakistani, and other military instructors are in charge of training sabotage-terrorist groups and forming bands in specially created camps and defended posts; in Pakistan alone, there are now more than 120, and about 18 in Iran. Raiders burn down entire villages; bury people alive in the ground; chop off hands, including those of children; kill, and disfigure the work of teachers; blow up factories, enterprises; and set fire to sown crops.

[Patsyuk] Can you say what kind of loss has been inflicted on the Afghan economy?

[Filatov] The direct loss to the economy inflicted by the counterrevolution, beginning in 1978, exceeds 45 billion afghani. The bandits have destroyed 39 state enterprises, 250 mosques, 2707 schools, and 139 medical establishments. Up to now, more than 300 authoritative Afghan religious figures have died at the rebels' hands. Detachments of rebels obey counterrevolutionary organizations and groups, of which there are now more than 100. The headquarters of the majority of them are in Pakistan. The aim of each one of them is generally the same: the overthrow of the people's regime in Afghanistan and the establishment of an Islamic regime.

In giving assistance to Afghanistan, the USSR proceeds from the fact that to leave Afghan comrades without help and support, to be torn to pieces by the counterrevolution, would mean to neglect international duties, to condemn the Afghan revolution to inevitable doom. The Soviet Union acted according to its revolutionary conscience, proceeding from the behests of Lenin. Of course, our regiments could probably return home today, but then the question is: what will the ordinary Afghans be left to? What has been built by them during the revolution? In February 1941 the general staff of fascist Germany devised a plan for fascist troops to move into India via Afghanistan. According to this plan, an operative group of Afghanistan was created, composed of 17 divisions. However, these plans were not destined to be realized. The Soviet Army defeated the fascist swarms, first at Stalingrad and then in the Caucasus. This act barred the invaders' way to the Middle East and thereby saved Afghanistan from the threat of enslavement. Today our soldiers are, we could say, continuing the same mission in Afghanistan as the defenders of Stalingrad and the Caucasus in the years of the Great Patriotic War. Those frontline soldiers attained guarantees of freedom for Afghanistan. As soon as today's Afghanistan obtains such guarantees, our soldiers will return to their homes, or as they say, winter quarters. [passage omitted]

Many listeners are interested in the Persian Gulf situation. Comrade Kuzmenko, from the town of Konstantinovka in Donetsk Oblast asks why the United States and its allies are so persistently exacerbating the atmosphere in that area. Similar questions have also been received from listeners Reygan in Sasovo, Ryazan Oblast; Yaroshenko in Minsk, and certain others. We asked international affairs journalist Rafail Nadzhipovich Moseyev to talk about what is now happening in that region.

[Moseyev] Tension remains high in the Persian Gulf area. The Iran-Iraq war has been going on for more than 7 years now. The number of dead and injured is growing and tremendous material damage is being inflicted by the war. The reasons behind the very dangerous tension are evident. You need only remember that it is the United States itself which declared the Persian Gulf a zone vital to its interests. This hegemonist policy has, in essence, played the main role in fanning the devastating war. As the U.S. claims have escalated, so too have the hostilities on the Iran-Iraq front. It is clear that having taken the path of open interference, the United States is trying to make use of the situation to expand its hegemony and preserve on a permament basis its military, economic, and political presence. It is precisely these motives which dictate U.S. policy in the Persian Gulf. [passage omitted]

[Patsyuk] Political observers believe that the U.S. use of military force against Iran is the reason for the increased number of attacks on oil tankers in the Persian Gulf.

[Moseyev] Yes, that is indeed the case, Konstantin Nikolayevich. A few days ago, for example, a supertanker carrying Saudi oil was shelled by missiles. A *Reuter* correspondent believes that the attack was carried out by an Iranian warship. Naturally, you cannot fail to be concerned when civilian ships are shelled; however, there is no justification for the adventurism of the U.S. Administration, which has blatantly taken the path of escalating tension. [passage omitted]

GOSR Shows Need For Ideological Breakthrough

PM231445 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 46, 15 Nov 87 p 5

[Professor Yuriy Krasin article: "Human Values Come First. A long-Awaited Discussion"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The meeting of representatives of parties and movements who converged on Moscow to mark the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution was an unusual event in the political life of the community. The people involved and the importance of their dialogue for the sake of peace and progress were very interesting. Professor Yuriy Krasin, Rector of the Institute of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke about his impressions of the meeting of communists, socialists, social democrats, labourites, Greens, and representatives of other progressive and democratic forces.

The meeting provided much food for thought. It couldn't be otherwise, because 178 delegations representing a varied political spectrum of the planet participated in the discussions. The participants' opinions didn't coincide on all points, they sometimes diverged and even clashed. However, the striving to find a common language in order to solve complicated issues encountered by humankind on the threshold of the 21st century was prevalent.

At atmosphere of democratism and respect was, in my opinion, the most characteristic feature of that meeting. It opened the way for a constructive discussion, which was a long-awaited and urgent one. Nevertheless, the mistrust and prejudices accumulated during years were dispelled. The meeting itself became an expression of the demand for a new ethical code for a dialogue of political forces.

Which issue was central to the discusison? The fate of the human civilization facing a mortal catastrophe. Hence, the priority of humankind's striving for survival before the national and class values. Perhaps, the search for a stable and controllable peace capable of averting a thermonuclear threat represents at present the basis for cooperation between all democratic and progressive forces.

Other issues of global importance also drew the participants' attention. Communists, Greens, social democrats spoke about the threat of the ecological crisis which means, as distinct from a thermonuclear death, the destruction of the vital features of human civilization over a period of time, and put forward concrete proposals for cooperation in the drive to protect the environment.

Many of the speakers, especially ones from the newly liberated countries, associated the search for a road to peace with the issue of development. Indeed, poverty, hunger, illness, and high infant mortality in the developing countries, where the major portion of humankind live, represent a source of social tensions fraught with unpredictable consequences. This issue brings forth a burning task today — the formation of a new economic world order which would relieve the developing countries of their burden of foreign debts running into trillions of dollars and would create conditions for their economic, social, political, and cultural progress.

This is more than just a moral issue, this is an objective need of the world's social development, because the problem touches upon the fate of all humankind, all countries, and tells on the state of the world's economy.

Reflections on what was said during the meeting lead to the conclusion that today the world has to deal not only with the crisis of capitalism, but also with a deep crisis in the development of human civilization as a whole. It is in this sphere that a vast room for cooperation of the world's broadest social and political forces is forming. And it is in that sphere that human values come to the fore.

Soviet perestroyka also caught the participants'attention. Almost all the speakers positively assessed the deep-going revolutionary changes within Soviet society. What can be the explanation for that assessment? In my opinion, it is because perestroyka upholds the same human values — people along with their real needs and aspirations — which are put to the centre of the thoughts about the fate of the entire human civilization. In that aspect, our practice is perfectly in line with the prospects of human progress.

The positive appraisals of perestroyka and hopes for its successful completion expressed in the speeches once more highlighted the heavy burden of the consequences of the personality cult and of the stagnation period, which were weighing down socialism. Naturally, that heavy burden influenced the work of the communist parties of the capitalist countries, as well as other progressive forces guided by socialist ideals. That made

them take a line of defence and put them in an unadvantageous position before anticommunism which excessively used for its own ends the perversions of the principles of socialism.

Perestroyka signifies the start of socialism's offensive. It reveals the dynamism and colossal potential of the socialist system, it supplies communists and democratic forces of the non-socialist world with weighty arguments and stimulates the positive quests for a socialist alternative conducted by those forces.

How did communists profit from the meeting? Mikhail Gorbahcev noted that the communist movement has come to a transition stage. It needs to be renewed. The speeches made by the representatives of communist parties' proved that the renewal is going on, though not always without a hitch. I think that the meeting gave still another indication that the communist movement of today is widely open to dialogue, cooperation, coordinated actions, and cohesion with other progressive forces. It is in this direction that the communists are seeking their proper place in this changing world. The haughtiness of the former claim to know all the answers, which sometimds was just up to conceal the fear of looking reality in the face, is now being overcome. I can say that now we are turning towards realism, towards the perception of the dynamic and contradictory world the way it is. This demands a mastering of dialectical thinking.

The times when the experience and conceptions of the non-communist social forces were looked down upon are now past. Life has proved that the activity of those forces — Socialists, Social Democrats, Greens, or other mass democratic organizations — show important aspects of the many-faceted reality and supplies the material for comprehending contemporary problems in all their aspects.

It is apparent that a creative and innovative approach to theory represents a major line of renovation of the communist movement. In order to facilitate it, a more profound study of the heritage of the classics of Marxism is needed, as well as its comparison with the realities of life today, a new understanding of works by Marx and Lenin.

During the years of stagnation the very idea of a new understanding of the works of Lenin was considered a revisionist crime, an encroachment on ideological foundations. Now we cannot do without it. The reasons is not only the need for purification of the heritage of Marx and Lenin from any alien later development and simplifying interpretations but also the necessity for a breakthrough (and that is the main reasons) in theory compatible perhaps with the one done by Lenin early in this century, and whch is demanded by the newly emerging reality.

The discussion in Moscow was held under the badge of the new political and thinking, understanding of the integrity and interdependence of the contradictory and many-faceted world. The realities of that world demand a high degree of responsibility from democratic and progressive forces and compel them to dialogue the cooperation. The meeting clearly revealed the understanding of that responsibility.

'Workers' Movement' Program On GOSR's Results

LD211104 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 19 Nov 87

[From the "Workers' Movement" program, presented by Viktor Levin; with Academician Yevgeniy Maksimovich Primakov, director of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations; and political observer Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin]

[Text] [Levin] We are dedicating today's broadcast to the meeting of representatives of parties and movements who came for the jubilee ceremonies which took place in Moscow during the celebrations marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. This meeting was unprecedented, above all, because this was the first time that representatives from communist, socialist, and social democratic parties, people's revolutionary movements gathered together and met at the same table motivated by one thought: the need to coordinate efforts in the struggle to strengthen peace, in the struggle to secure a better future for humanity.

The very fact that this meeting took place says that very serious changes are taking place in the world, that the new political thinking is becoming a moving force for left democratic parties and progressive forces. Many figures can be cited describing this meeting; many facts can be quoted showing that there was a very businesslike and very thorough exchange of opinions. But I would like to remind you of these facts: There were 178 delegations present at the meeting. Representatives of 119 parties and organizations registered to speak. In the meeting's 2 days of operation 63 people spoke. Then the question arose as to whether another session could be held. In this case too only a few of those who had asked to speak but did not manage to get the opportunity would have been able to speak. Then a decision was made: All those taking part in the meeting but who had not managed to speak there would submit their speeches in writing. All these speeches were then published in our newspaper *Pravda*.

This is, let me tell you, a very significant event. Opinions were expressed that were sometimes far from pleasant to our ears, but these were the opinions of people expressing the point of view of certain — if you like — social groups and political parties. The dominating understanding at the meeting was that all its participants, as Fidel Castro said, are an integral part of a worldwide flow of force filled with the resolve to achieve peace and a better future for people. Gathering here so as to examine how we are to come together and unite in this transformative task is the best way to pay our respects to

those who proclaimed these principles under the leadership of Vladimir Ilich Lenin in Petrograd 70 years ago. This is what the Cuban leader said.

The opinion was also expressed at the meeting that it could become a prelude to attaining mutual understanding on a new basis, or to achieving a fundamentally new mutual understanding both between those who have close platforms as well as those forces which differ from each other. This was indisputably an event of outstanding importance, and unprecedented event.

It would probably be premature even today to give a full assessment of the significance of this meeting and of what happened and what was said there. This requires a very deep and very thorough analysis. Yet it is possible even now to note what was most characteristic. In order to speak about this, we invited the participation in our program of Academician Yevgeniy Maksimovich Primakov, director of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations; and political observer Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin.

[Primakov] Well, you called it unprecedented, and it really was, even in its format, because it was a quite informal conversation; it was a conversation that did not end in the adoption of any sort of documents. It was a quite free decussion, in no way programmed; all the materials were published without any sort of ommissions, of course. In general, it is a new kind of example of how representatives of various parties and trends of left-wing orientation should meet — I have in mind not only communists, but also the others who took part in this meeting. But if you are to really speak about its unprecendented nature, then you are talking about the fact that representatives are now meeting, at this turning-point in history, from movements which are the most international in their essence, and discussing the most burning questions facing humankind. There were of course before this time parallel meetings of all kinds; there were regional and subregional meetings, but, in my opinion, there has been nothing of this kind in its representation, in its breadth of reach, in the importance of the questions it raised, in recent years.

[Shishlin] I woulld agree with that because even simple statistics say something about the unique character of this meeting. Taking part in the meeting were representatives of almost 180 parties and workers movements. Even the very course of its work, all its materials, were very rich and interesting; all these speeches on different planes where voices were indeed heard not only from communists but also from social democrats, socialists, Greens, and national democratic parties. So, in the richness of the ideas expressed, in the multifaceted nature of these ideas, the meeting was of course indeed, let me repeat this word which was used here, unprecedented. But all the same there was a common note sounded during the speeches. All of them were in one way or another oriented toward the most burning problems of our days. Indeed, not only problems of war and peace, although this was a kind of dominant key in this broad discussion, but also other problems that are on the agenda for the human race, which is now looking toward the next century.

[Levin] It can be said that three problems in world development have now singled themselves out. These are above all the peculiarities of the nuclear epoch, which have put into the foreground the problem of the very survival of humanity itself. Next, there is the problem of stimulating the scientific and technical revolution in the process of world-economic links, the increasing interdependence of the world's countries and peoples, the coming into being of integration in conditions of differences and conflicts. And finally, there is the aggravation of global problems which challenge the very biological capacity of humanity to adapt to the dangers, pace, and stresses of modern life. These three problems were very widely discussed. We cannot sum up the final results of this meeting, but what we are saying already gives us a basis to pose the question: What did this meeting yield, what are the, so to speak, first conclusions arising from this meeting? Much can indeed be said here, and a phenomenon has occurred here which would have been impossible a few years ago.

[Primakov] This is precisely where I would like to take up the subject. A meeting of this kind was made possible precisely owing to the processes of restructuring currently underway in our country, the processes of the democratization of our society, and the processes of renovation. They were not only the background of the meeting but, on the whole, they made up the actual precondition that led to the meeting itself. I think that nobody would have responded to the call for holding that meeting if all of the above had not existed. Let us call things by their names. The first thing that strikes one in all the speeches is not simply the support for what is being done in our country from the best part of humankind — let us call them like that — but enthusiasm over what is going on in our country. They are inspired by this.

[Levin] Yevgeniy Maksimovich, I would like to back your thought with a few specific examples. Comrade Florakis, general secretary of the Greek Communist Party Central Committee, said in his speech: Changes in the Soviet Union are enhancing the immediacy and appeal of socialism, they are creating objectively new possibilities for strengthening the influence of socialist ideas throughout the world. Georges Hawi, general secretary of the Lebanese Communist Party Central Committee, said: We are welcoming what is going on in the Soviet Union. Yes, restructuring is necessary; it is necessary to cast a fresh glance on life, to adopt glasnost. These slogans are true not only for the Soviet Union. From another section of those who visited the meeting, (Michael Bean), representative of the Australian Labor Party, said: Glasnost and restructuring are important for the internal life of the Soviet Union, but they have also an international significance because they contribute to

enhancing confidence and, consequently, to relaxing tension. In my view, these examples vividly support the idea that restructuring and glasnost became the foundation on which it was possible to hold the meeting, and that both restructuring and glasnost will become, in their development, a factor contributing to the strengthening of workers' and communist movements, i.e., the movements which are coming out for peace and for the solution of the most acute social and ecologic problems facing the world.

[Shishlin] I would like to look at this problem from yet another angle. It is a very precise observation that one could not imagine that meeting taking place without considering the changes taking place in the Soviet Union within the framework of the process of society's revolutionary renovation. But this is a subjective point. I would say, it is a subjective factor, however weighty and important it may be. That meeting had an objective background too. No doubt, the knowledge of the present-day world and an open view of the realities facing humankind constitute the objective background that prompted representatives of different parties and movements to come together, to speak in a truly informal way, and to speak about their approaches to the problems that are in practice facing the entire humankind.

[Levin] One must say that at this meeting the idea that restructuring is necessary for the international communist movement was voiced. The idea that at a certain stage the international communist movement lost the pace of its development and this has had a negative effect was voiced in many speeches, in particular, in some speeches the idea that ecological problems — or, to be more precise, the entire acuteness of ecological problems — was first understood not by representatives of communist parties but by the greens was mentioned. True, this is a point that has taken place in reality, so to speak, but from this an absolutely obvious conclusion follows — and this conclusion was supported by the whole course of discussion — that communists are now fully aware of ecological problems. However, I cannot agree on all points with the representative of the Norwegian Communist Party who spoke at the meeting and said that the banner of revolution had always been red but now the green banner should be added to it, the banner of those protecting the environment.

[Primakov] Well, you know, the green banner is also the banner of Islam.

[Shishlin] I regard as fundamental the idea promulgated by Mikhail Sergeyevich at the meeting, in connection with the difficulties in the development of the communist movement that you have mentioned. The problem lies not so much in the fact that supposedly the Greens have outstripped communists by possing so acutely the problem of environmental protection. The idea voiced by Mikhail Sergeyevich is a capital one, in my opinion. I mean his utterance to the effect that the essence of developments in modes of production is only slightly revealing itself in conventional formula about the continuous deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, not to mention political forecasts. In other words, precisely here we are coming across a truly revolutionary view of the state of things in the world. It is a realistic view of capitalism, of the development of capitalism, and of specific features of present-day capitalism; indeed, a fundamental problem is being posed requiring a precise and adequate Marxist-Leninist answer which would raise the communist movement movement on to a new level.

[Primakov] Now if you are to talk about the weak aspects that have appeared in the communist movement — this was spoken of openly — then these weak sides consist in the following: Firstly, it is of course — you underscored this absolutely precisely — there is a shortage of a certain realism, an inability to see life as it is, and sometimes an attempt to represent it as you would like it to be. Meanwhile, life is complex, life is unbelievably complex and therefore if some party or some section of public opinion, some segment of public opinion perceives things not as they are, it becomes detached from life and wraps itself up in a certain isolationism. Secondly, I would say that something has been brought forth from the practice of real socialism. This must also be acknowledged, because we of course have a positive influence on the course of societal development. There can be no doubt in this matter here. There have indeed been periods in our history when negative phenomena were also obvious. So in the period of repressions and in the period of stagnation, for example, the model of socialism was as if reflected in a cracked mirror. Further: If you are to say something more about the shortcomings that arose in the communism movement, then this is a certain isolationism from other left-wing parties, from other left movements. Communists now realize and understand this very well, and here is one of the very important international aspects of our restructuring drive.

[Shishlin] Some other things that are also, of course, of really fundamental significance, are the attitudes to forms and to methods of cooperation, and to the standards of interrelations between parties, whether they are communist, socialist, or social democratic parties. This affirmation, this kind of emphatic affirmation of the principles of equality, independence, sovereignty of each party, a completely clear position regarding an absence of centers that direct each and everything, taking strict account not only of the opinions of your own fellows-in-thought but also of another public current of thought, winning over other social ideas that are developing in another direction, all this of course creates the precondition for enriching the work both Soviet Communists and the work of communists in other parties. This also creates the prospect of and opportunity for broad cooperation between communists and other left-wing movements, not only in the domain of strengthening peace, but also in other fields, where you can talk about defending the interests of the working people, where you can talk about developing precise approaches to solving the global problems facing humanity.

[Primakov] And then the rejection of stagnation, both in theoretical thought and in practical activity, the need for dynamism in this — and this was stressed very keenly in Mikhail Sergeyevich's address, you remember, when he said that Lenin, after coming to power, came up against actual reality, when the world revolution was no longer to speak — kind of...

[Shishlin—interrupting] Inevitable...?

[Primakov]...Yes, inevitable — then the new economic policy came along, there arose a new understanding of actual reality, there arose new theoretical formulations, there arose new practical tactical moves. Now we are also faced with this kind of situation, where there is a need for mobility, for room for mobility, in theory and practice. This is what we have been calling for, and this is not just something we have been calling — you are right of course, we stand no closer to the truth than someone else whoever he may be. Each has their own characteristics, each section of communism and each party generally has its own direction, which is influenced by something in particular proceeding out of its own characteristics. But at the same time, they look to us, and to us more than the rest, because we are the trailblazers.

[Shishlin] I think, Yevgeniy Maksimovich, that in your actual work, taking account of the character of the institute you are in charge of, you can feel how keen is the demand for bold, audacious Marxist-Leninist thought that is really new, on the basis of those premises which have been developed by our Party — how intense that demand really is.

[Primakov] You take just one question in this connection. This is the dialectic interrevolution between the infleunce of the revolutionary process developing in the socioeconomic sphere and the revolutionary process developing in the production sphere — I have in mind the scientific and technical revolution. If you do not examine this in the aggregate, if you do not examine it together, examine it in its dialectic interaction, then you could come to an absolutely incorrect conclusion. There was a time when for example, two markets were formed — the socialist and capitalist — and then Stalin said that capitalism would developed on a narrowed basis, on a narrow base. Failure to account for the scientific and technical revolution, the failure to take account of the fact that there is also an economic mechanism developing under capitalism, leads to completely incorrect conclusions. These two revolutionary currents, in the socioeconomic sphere too — the current produced by Great October, and the scientific and technical revolution — changes views and makes capitalism adapt and adjust in a certain direction. It will not stop being capitlaism, naturally. There remains the exploitation of people by people, which makes this system totally unacceptable to us in this respect, but at the same time to say that capitalism is the capitalism that it was, let us say, 100 years ago or even, if you will, 30 years ago, is simply incorrect.

[Levin] In this connection I think this fact deserves special attention — the idea could be heard at this meeting in the many speeches by leaders of communist parties which are in power that the potential of socialism is far from having been opened up to its full extent. This was said by people not only concerned with theory but also by those who are concerned with the practice of socialist construction, the practicalities of implementing the ideals of socialism. This was said by Comrade Gorbachev; it was also said by Janos Kadar. He noted in particular that overcoming economic problems is indivisible from improving the system of political institutions, and the further broad development of socialist democracy. This has not yet been implemented. Yes, we have excellently defined our itinary, as far as our country is concerned. The 27th CPSU Congress marked out a very clear path, but the implementation of the tasks set, implementation of the aims put forward is indisputably a hardly simple thing, and there could be not just successes but also difficulties on this path; in fact there are sure to be, for life does not run that easy or smooth.

[Shishlin] There is no need here even to tell us, Viktor Nikolayevich, what could be, we just know that difficulties — and there are difficulties — are to be found in no small measure. Even though we are within our rights in the restructuring process to speak now about certain real achievements, in the political, the economic, and in the spirutual spheres, we still know that the path has turned out to be harder. The scale of the tasks put forward and laid down, the complexities of these tasks have turned out to be more substantial than they seemed at first. Revolution is word of obligation, a difficult word, which presupposed some very concerted and energetic work.

[Levin] The meeting brought out the communality of approaches by representatives of different parties and movements to a whole set of problems. I would first of all cite the question of war and peace. The thought was to be heard in many speeches that averting nuclear catastrophe is a condition and prerequisite ifor the survival of humanity, and consequently for the forces who are advancing social progress.

[Primakov] A very big question arises here, you know: the relations between the interests of societal development and class interests. This is no academic question; life faces everyone with it. Moreover, Vladimir Ilich Lenin said at one time that the interests of humankind as a whole stand above the interests of the working class. But it is not, in fact, a matter of the hierarchy of interests; the fact is that they are mutually conditioned, mutually intertwined. This is particularly important now, because it can probably be formulated that the higher class interests now are the preservation of peace [mir].

[Levin] Here's another problem much talked about at this meeting: that is, the interlinkage between disarmament and development. This example was cited in particular. About $245 billion have flowed out of Latin America over the last 5 years in the form of interests

payments on debts — the outflow of capital via other channels of dependence. [as heard] It is very often said in leading capitalist countries that the developing countries have acquired enormous debts, that these debts lie as a heavy burden on the world financial system, and they say these countries are to blame. However, the developing countries show, and show very clearly, that it is the capitalist powers which are to blame for this, which are by various means extracting from these developing countries the means they need for their development and have turned their own loans into the tools of economic repression, suppressing opportunities for these states' rapid development. Many speakers noted in this connection that it is no accident that the United States refused to take part in the recent United Nations conference on questions of disarmament and development.

Communists — and not only communists, many socialists and social democrats — see an unbreakable link between disarmament and development. The leading capitalist powers still prefer to walk away from this. The question stood out very insistently on the social problems that the world is coming up against. The future was to be heard in one of the speeches — to be honest, I have never come across it, but I do not doubt that it is true and corresponds to the facts — that there are now throughout the world, throughout the whole world, 400 million people unemployed. This is a horrifying figure.

[Primakov] Yes, it's a horrifying figure indeed. But you know, getting back to the theme of disarmament and development, this is an issue which was heard in the speech by the general secretary of our party and in a number of other speeches. It is of extremely great significance. I happen to have been a member of our delegation at that conference which you are talking about — the United Nations conference. You know, the United States counterposed itself to everyone: they were the only ones not to take part in this conference. All their allies were represented, moreover at a very high level, some by ministers. That is, the world has turned round and faced this subject. That is how, it seems to me, you can describe the main result of this conference.

[Shishlin] In this mutually linked, mutually interdependent world we are discovering a simple but completely obvious thing: If these developing countries go down, if they go back to square one, then this will bring the whole world back to square one.

[Primakov] That's right.

[Levin] This idea has also resounded very distinctly and very stongly in many speeches in which it was said at the same time that we are presently coming up against such terrible things as the problem of famine, indebtedness, environmental conservation, health care, education, respect for and broadening human rights, and that it is impossible to solve all this in practice without coordinating disarmament with development. It was this idea of the interdependence, of the interconnection of the world that was also one of the dominating ideas at the conference that has been held. And here I recall that Bosko Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee presidium, said that the well known slogan — the world is indivisible — is today acquiring its full sense and significance. It tells us that the problems of the modern world are increasingly becoming our common problems, and we must seek both partial and global solutions to them as well. These solutions can only be achieved by the combined action of everyone. It is this striving to unite efforts that is probably the main result, the preliminary result, of the meeting that has taken place in Moscow.

[Shishlin] I think that we have the right to talk about the richness of ideas, of the pluralism of ideas. And here, beyond this richness of ideas, prospects open up for various actions, parallel actions, perhaps combined actions. I know that yet a different question like this is asked: it is asked whether this Moscow meeting of representatives of parties and movements signifies that some kind of similar meetings will become a tradition, and so on and so forth. No one envisages this, nor is it absolutely necessary that somewhere, in some period of time, a meeting like this will be held again. The forms of cooperation of the various parties and movements may vary very greatly, beginning with some kind of theoretical studies, some kind of seminars, conferences, and so forth, and ending with practical actions for the making of practical recommendations, for taking practical steps so as to be able to respond to those questions about which we are talking today.

[Levin] In conclusion, I think that it is worth reminding you of that appraisal of the atmosphere prevailing at the meeting made by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. He said, moreover, that that was perhaps possibly the most important thing. You and I are becoming different people from the point of view of an understanding of the world in which we live and from the point of view of understanding the nature of our interrelationship. To this he added that the content of the speeches heard at the meeting gives us the right to surmise that the worst thing, the most difficult thing in our relations is a thing of the past, although your future and ours will be not easy matter.

United States & Canada

Shultz, Shevardnadze Discuss Accord, Summit

LD231839 Moscow TASS in English 1725 GMT 23 Nov 87

[Text] Geneva November 23 TASS—Talks between member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz opened here today. The heads of the foreign policy departments of the two countries had a meeting today with few other officials present. Plenary meetings of the delegations of both countries were held. Questions related to the finalizing of the agreement on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles and to the preparation for Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the USA next month were discussed.

The talks in Geneva will be continued tomorrow.

Shultz Comments on Talks

LD232251 Moscow TASS in English 2218 GMT 23 Nov 87

[Text] Geneva November 24 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz stated here on Monday that his first discussions with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze were serious and constructive.

Talking to a group of journalists before the start of the second meeting at the U.S. mission, he emphasized: "The talks are always business-like, straight-forward and constructive. That's always been true of my talks with the foreign minister. It's true this time".

Shultz added that, as far as the meetings' results were concerned, it would be possible to tell only on Tuesday.

Divided Families Issue 'Whipping Up' Problems

PM231641 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by TASS Observer Viktor Ponomarev, specially written for IZVESTIYA: "It Is Better To Think It Over Together"]

[Text] As the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting approaches, passions are being whipped up in the United States with regard to so-called "divided families." As if by prior agreement, U.S. legislators are plying the Soviet Embassy with "questions" and "demands." Jewish organization leaders are rushing to meet the President at the White House. Representatives of Zionist circles are dictating to Deputy Secretary of State Whitehead, who has only just returned from a visit to Moscow, what he is to tell the Kremlin and how he is to tell it. Finally, congressmen are submitting for discussion a draft joint resolution of the two houses which, in their opinion, touches "the most vital problem" of Soviet-U.S. relations. They call on the Soviet Union to "immediately grant emigration permits to all who wish to be reunited with their spouses in the United States."

Who are the people who wish to do this, and why is that the question about them has suddenly acquired such urgency on the eve of the summit meeting?

The draft resolution mentions 15 names. Many of them, however, have already received exit permits, while others are already preparing their documents. As we can see, the gentlemen from Congress are storming an open gate. Exit permits have been granted to Galina Goltsman-Mikhelson, Yuriy Balovlenkov, Yelena Kaplan, and others. The list also contains the names of some who left a long time ago. Their final destination—whether the United States or some other country—is their personal affair.

This is not the first time that a wave of manipulations geared to distort facts has been raised in the United States on the eve of important international events. U.S. congressmen must know that 46 Soviet citizens from "divided families" have been granted permission to be reunited with their relatives in the last 2 years. Many of them have been in the United States for a long time now. Moreover, one of them—Aleksandr Kalmykov—who left to take up permanent residence in the United States, found himself in a position as the uninvited guest of his U.S. in-laws. His spouse's parents did not accept the "Soviet son-in-law." Having found himself thus dismissed, Kalmykov approached the Soviet Embassy and returned to the USSR of his own free will. Could it be that the gentlemen legislators have managed to find him some more accommodating "relatives" and now want him to cross the ocean for a second time?

As regards the remaining six about whom the congressmen are now making so much noise, four have been refused exit permits in view of their knowledge of state secrets, in other words fully according to law. They are Vladislav Kostin, Sergey Petrov, Viktor Fayermark, and Pyatras Pakekas. Moreover, two of them are former security service staffers. Do their patrons in the United States know that, had they been U.S. citizens in possession of secrets and had decided to leave America, they would have been liable to harsh punishment? Under U.S., rather than under Soviet laws.

Finally, the last two. It would be interesting to know what procedure the gentlemen from Congress have in mind for the departure from the USSR by Yevgeniy Grigorishin, sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment for embezzlement and official forgery? We must suppose that the thieves already packing U.S. jails are prepared to squeeze even tighter and make room for him, while Mr. C. Mack, author of the draft resolution on "divided families," is getting a police car and American handcuffs ready for Grigorishin's transportation. Common sense

would preclude the assumption that the honorable U.S. legislators could believe that any criminal linking his fate to an U.S. woman ought to be automatically relieved of any criminal liability.

Problems affecting the personal interests of U.S. and Soviet citizens must and can be resolved, but only through mutual quest for solutions to everyone's satisfaction, not by whipping up confrontation. The time has now come, after 70 years of the Soviet state's existence, to accept the idea that the Soviet Union is a sovereign state, and that to dictate its domestic policy is, to say the least, absurd. Would it not be better to take advantage of the proposal by Soviet parliamentarians, made during one of the television linkups, to which the U.S. side is for some reason avoiding a reply. We are talking about setting up a working group of Soviet and U.S. legislators to solve specific question posed by life, including those concerning "divided families." It seems that only then, in a calm and businesslike atmosphere, it will become possible to find sensible solutions for each case without unnecessary noise and provocative emotions.

Efforts To Subvert Talks, Ratification Cited

PM231653 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Nov 87 First Edition

[S. Volovets article: "United States: Provocative 'Leak' Before the Summit"]

[Text] The 2 weeks before the Soviet-U.S. summit in Washington are being used in different ways. In Geneva USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and Secretary of State G. Shultz are overcoming the last obstacles to the preparation of an agreement to eliminate medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles. The politicians in Washington who had done everything over the last 30 months to prevent such an agreement are now changing tack, switching their fire from the forthcoming 7 December signing to the future ratification.

Sovetskaya Rossiya wrote 18 November about a Pentagon report prepared on C. Weinberger's instructions to compromise impending decisions at the strategic offensive weapons talks. Only a few days later *The Washington Post* reported the existence of a secret CIA report on the alleged impossibility of reliable verification of the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles.

The journalists Evans and Novak, suddenly deciding to bring the secret report out into the open and calling it "authoritative," wrote that the proponents of the agreement being prepared for signing in the U.S. Administration "read the report and wept."

One does not know whether to laugh or cry about the latest "leak" of "secret" information to *The Washington Post*. It is clear that the "leak" was planned. Not so much now to complicate the summit between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan as to overshadow and hamper future Senate ratification of the agreement.

Just 1 month ago, receiving G. Shultz, M.S. Gorbachev stressed that at the final stage of the preparation of the agreement it is particularly important to work out the problems of strict verification. The Americans themselves have publicly admitted more than once that the Soviet Union has adopted a more radical posture with regard to verification than the United States.

Most probably we will witness several more "leaks" and other acts of propaganda sabotage against the summit and its expected results. It would be good if the real aims of these actions were as clear as they were in the case of *The Washington Post* article, and if people in America itself were able to discern them.

Reagan Addresses Republican Activists on INF

LD232255 Moscow TASS in English 2226 GMT 23 Nov 87

[Text] Washington November 24 TASS—Addressing a group of the Republican Party's 'Activists on the INF (Intermediate Nuclear Forces) Treaty', U.S. President Ronald Reagan stated on Monday that the document was due to be signed during the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in December.

He said the proposed treaty was "a good bargain" and that it would lead for the first time in history to the elimination of a whole class of nuclear arms.

The President told the group that he was asking for their support and help in convincing the Senate to ratify the treaty.

At the same time Ronald Reagan stated that, from the viewpoint of the American side, in the process of preparation of a final text of the treaty, there still remained unresolved points connected with verification issues.

The President also pointed out that the Soviet Union and the United States were marking headway in the course of negotiations on a 50 percent cut in the arsenals of their offensive arms.

Razuvanov on Visit to Utah CW Facility

LD232109 Moscow TASS in English 2024 GMT 23 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 23 TASS—General Robert Razuvanov, who is in charge of the Soviet chemical facility at Shikhany, has returned from a visit to his colleagues in Tooele, Utah, with mixed feelings. "On the whole, we assess our visit positively," he told a TASS diplomatic correspondent in an interview at the aircraft gangway. "Undoubtedly, this marks another step towards openness and trust. However, the striving of the USA to go ahead with its binary programme makes one doubt the sincerity of the intentions of the American side to do away with the chemical weapons."

General Razuvanov's doubts were prompted by the U.S. ambassador at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, Max Friedersdorf, who believes that the convention on the complete prohibition of chemical weapons must not cover the most advanced and, perhaps, most sophisticated type of these weapons, binary munitions. The USA displayed in Tooele a 155-mm binary shell, GB-2. "One does not need to be a specialist," General Razuvanov continued, "to understand that the binary programme will hardly be limited by the development of this shell only. Other types are obviously under development in the USA. This weapon can also be used as a warhead for missiles and as an aerial bomb."

"We were also surprised," he continued, "that in Tooele, when showing the facility for the destruction of chemical weapons, the American side used neutral liquids and the gas masks handed out to us were for show. At Shikhany we demonstrated a real process in which a real chemical projectile was destroyed."

"The typical storage of American chemical munitions shown to us," the general said, "will make it possible to judge the system of chemical munitions in the U.S. Army. However, we could ask why the American side had failed to show chemical warheads for missiles and chemical munitions for naval artillery."

"One can spend a lot of time arguing about who has showed more and who has concealed less. Such discussions, however, are pointless," General Razuvanov said. "It is necessary to advance towards the convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons. The concrete Soviet proposal to jointly disclose the stocks and location of chemical weapons stocks has been tabled at the talks. Then the fabrications about multiple Soviet superiority in chemical weapons stocks will disappear and the world will move even closer to the complete prohibition of this most barbarous type of weapon of mass destruction."

Yakubov on Iran-Contra Report, 'Distortions'

LD232310 Moscow TASS in English 1705 GMT 23 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 23 TASS—TASS news analyst Dmitiriy Yakubov writes:

The President of the United States has many duties under the U.S. Constitution and among them a very important one which provides for the President "To take care that the laws be faithfully executed".

The question of President Reagan's fulfilling this duty attracts special interest these days when the American public closely studies a report of the congressional committees on the results of the investigation of the Iran-contra affair.

As is known, neither the congressional hearings, nor the report on the results of the investigation have given a direct answer to the question about the President's role in Irangate. This has been a result of obvious distortions made by White House officials during the hearings and of the fact that they destroyed numerous important documents during the investigation. The authors of the report hold that this does not absolve the President of the accusation of having failed to ensure faithful execution of the existing laws. Besides that, the report unambiguously accuses the President of having created such an atmosphere in the White House when his closest associates who broke laws could assert that they were implementing his policy and acting in the way which he wholly approved.

These strong accusations stemming from the report are enhanced by the fact that the President has not condemned either contradictory or false statements of his closest associates to the congressional committees, or their destruction of secret documents in violation of all existing laws, or the essence of the secret operations they had conducted in the framework of Iran-contra affair.

Refugee Riots Labeled 'Serious Disturbances'

LD240646 Moscow TASS in English 0638 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] New York November 24 TASS—One man was killed and over 30 wounded during serious disturbances in the so-called refugee centre in the U.S. City of Atlanta. Referring to local authorities, the UPI agency reports that 75 wardens were taken hostage and two buildings were burnt down during the riots. The centre interns 1,400 people who emigrated from Cuba in the past few years. Some of them are kept there for over seven years.

A. Hammer Briefs Newsmen on Cooperation Deal

PM231107 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Nov 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Business Participation"]

[Text] The socioeconomic transformations being widely implemented in the USSR help to improve the multifaceted Soviet-U.S. relations and to spread an atmosphere of trust all over the world, A. Hammer, chairman of the Occidental Petroleum Company board, said. He was speaking at a news conference in Moscow, where he announced that his company, Italy's Montedison concern, and the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Industry have signed a document of intent to set up a joint enterprises to build and later operate a petrochemical combine. The enterprise is planning to process hydrocarbon raw materials from the Tengiz Field, situated in the northeast part of the Caspian Depression.

According to A. Hammer, the petrochemical combine will be the largest joint enterprise to be created in the USSR.

Further Review of Nikonov Visit to U.S.
PM230851 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 13 Nov 87 p 3

[Third part in series of reports by special correspondent N. Osychkin under the rubric "On American Roads": "Iowa Corn"]

[Excerpts] Washington-Moscow—The fields' golden apparel is a characteristic feature of the fall landscape in the states of America's Midwest. Ripe corn stands like a wall on both sides of the road. In one place you can see a green John Deere combine proceeding along the even rows, cutting off the cobs, while in another dried-out plants await their turn. The weather was dry and sunny, and we seemed to be driving through the south Ukrainian or Kuban steppe, not through the U.S. corn belt. These regions so distant from each other are outwardly similar.

There are several specialized agricultural belts in the United States. There is the dairy belt, the wheat belt, the cotton belt, the tobacco belt, the pasture belt. The Soviet agrarian parliamentarians were interested, above all, in the corn belt and its center—the state of Iowa. We wanted to see as much as possible and learn how farmers, processing enterprise workers, specialists, and scientists have managed to achieve outstanding results in the production of corn grain and increase its yield to 75 quintals per hectare and the overall average harvest in the country to 225 million tonnes in 1985. [passage omitted]

In Iowa the Soviet parliamentarians conducted a broad exchange of opinions with prominent figures in the U.S. business world on the further development of U.S.-USSR economic and trade ties. Armand Hammer, John Crystal, Steve Garst [name as published], Thomas Urban, and others participated in the talks. It was noted with satisfaction that Iowa businessmen have taken over the baton from Garst senior and are continuing the policy of developing mutually advantageous relations between our countries. V.P. Nikonov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and leader of the Soviet delegation, presented John Crystal with M.S. Gorbachev's book *Time of Peace* in English, which he gratefully accepted. The proposal by State Governor T. Branstad to establish a status of twinned territories between Iowa and Stavropol Kray merits attention. The people of Iowa adopted this decision at a conference on U.S.-Soviet trade.

Thus a new kind of thinking is beginning to manifest itself in international affairs, founded on our country's peaceful concepts.

U.S. 'Occupation' of Soviet North Recalled
LD231328 Moscow TASS in English 1024 GMT 23 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 23 TASS—TASS Commentator Boris Prokhorov writes:

People in the Soviet Far East will soon observe a sad anniversary. Seventy years ago, less than three weeks after the triumphant Great October Revolution, the U.S. naval cruiser *Brooklyn* sailed into the port of Vladivostok.

It was the prelude to a subsequent incursion by a U.S. 9,000-strong expeditionary corps.

The foreign occupation of the Soviet Far East cost our people dearly. The Americans, Japanese and British mounted a wholesale terror campaign against the local inhabitants. They killed 80,000 people, not counting those who fell fighting the interventionists on the side of armed patriotic units.

The horrors of the U.S. occupation are remembered not only in the Far East, but in the Soviet north, too. On the bank of island Mudyugskiy in the mouth of the Severnaya Dvina river near Arkhangelsk there is a stone obelisk with the inscription "To the Victims of the Intervention" in Russian. Nearby are mass graves, each being the final resting-place for 250 people.

The island was the site of a concentration camp for communists and captured Red Army men, which was set up in 1918 by the U.S. 5,000-strong occupation corps commanded by Colonel Stewart.

Later, during the Second World War, such camps in the USSR were established by the Nazis. But the American camp on Mudyugskiy island was the first one. Few people returned from there alive.

Arkhangelsk physician Marshavin recalled how 119 prisoners had been taken to just off the island on a barge: "Under a hail of blows, icy water reaching up to our chests, we were barely able to walk to the shore, to the 'Island of Death', as we called Mudyugskiy. We were herded into a cold shed and ordered to take off all our clothes. By morning, many were dead."

Another American concentration camp, in the village Yokanga on the coast of the Barents Sea, was even more frightening. Those managing to survive a week there were then simply shot dead. It is not surprising therefore that there is no written testimony by prisoners about conditions there.

All in all, 52,000 Soviet people went through the two concentration camps during the years the U.S. troops occupied the Soviet north.

The bloody trail left by the Americans on Soviet soil in the east and north of the country has not been erazed by the decades that have elapsed since then. Flowers continue to be placed to the modest monuments to the victims of the U.S. terror also today: The people remember.

China

Li Peng Appointed Acting Premier

LD240918 Moscow TASS in English 0854 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Beijing November 24 TASS—LI Peng, a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, was appointed acting premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China today.

Zhao Cited on Economy, World Affairs

PM231041 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Nov 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Zhao Ziyang Statement"]

[Text] Beijing, 14 Nov—The main task of the economic reform in the PRC is to develop the socialist commodity economy, Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, has stated at a meeting with the Japan Socialist Party delegation which is paying a visit here. The need to develop the commodity economy, he pointed out, is dictated by the fact that China is at the initial stage of socialist building.

Characterizing the restructuring of the political structure in China, the general secretary noted that its main aim is to ensure socialist democracy. In his words, the key question of the restructuring of the political structure is to separate the functions of party and state organs. The task is being resolved from two directions—the center and grass-roots organizations—simultaneously. It will be implemented consistently in light of the actual conditions existing in China today.

In its report on the conversation, *Renmin Ribao* highlights Zhao Ziyang's statement that to ensure peace and stability in Asia it is necessary to remove the "trouble spots."

In connection with the approaching Soviet-U.S. summit, the Chinese leader emphasized that the PRC welcomes the accord in principle reached between the USSR and the United States on medium- and shorter-range missiles. I hope, he stated, that the Soviet-U.S. accord and the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan will mark the beginning of a relaxation in Soviet-U.S. relations and the international situation as a whole.

Ministry Spokesman on Accords, U.S. Ties

PM231605 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Yu. Savenkov dispatch: "China's Viewpoint"]

[Text] Beijing—During a scheduled briefing, in response to a request to voice its attitude toward the upcoming Soviet-U.S. summit meeting, a PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed that the Chinese Government expresses the hope that the leaders of the USSR and the United States will reach an agreement which will help to put an end to the arms race and will serve the interests of alleviating international tension.

China welcomes the upcoming meeting and the agreement in principle between the two sides on medium- and shorter-range missiles. But the agreement, in China's opinion, involves only a small proportion of the large weapons arsenals. And, therefore, the two sides must not stop at this but must continue talks to reduce other types of nuclear weapons and must secure and implement agreements, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

A correspondent asked the spokesman to assess the status of Chinese-U.S. relations in light of recent "unfavorable incidents," in particular the resolution adopted in the U.S. Senate on the "Tibetan question" and the U.S. Government's recent decision to interrupt the liberalization process in the sale of high-technology output and so on to China. The PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman noted that Chinese-U.S. relations have developed by and large over the last few years but that a series of "incidents" constituted interference in China's internal affairs. They offended the feelings of the Chinese people. All this is not, of course, favorable for the development of Chinese-U.S. relations. China hopes, the PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed, that the U.S. side will refrain from creating additional obstacles to the stable development of bilateral relations.

'Exhibition of Shame' of Poor-Quality Items

PM231457 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Yu. Savenkov report under the rubric "Facts, Events, Opinions": "Combating Shoddy Workmanship"]

[Text] Beijing—As *Izvestiya* has already reported, Beijing is preparing to stage an exhibition of shoddy goods which irate customers have sent to the recently-formed Quality Inspection Committee attached to the PRC Ministry of Light Industry.

The deadline for submitting exhibits has already passed; all the candidates to be shown are assembled and now the specially-appointed "judges" will decide the fate of the shoddy goods: Which of them are the worst and which are destined to be shown in the exhibition of shame. This is the name given by the press to the exhibition which is to open in December. The exhibits include refrigerators, washing machines, electric fans and other domestic electrical equipment, clocks, bicycles....

The exhibition has not yet opened, but the champions of quality are already reaping the fruits of their labors. A total of 80 factories have formed a system for servicing their products after sale. Consequently, in many cases

the ministry confronts the producers of shoddy goods with a choice: Replace the worthless product or return the money. It has received letters of thanks or letters giving a satisfactory appraisal of the way the conflict was resolved.

But there are also other cases. According to the newspaper *China Daily*, some manufacturers are taking "evasive action" and trying to conceal their sins but, according to an official spokesman of the Quality Inspection Committee, the exhibition organizers are in an uncompromising frame of mind—shoddy workmen will be warned: "If you do not immediately improve production quality, your enterprise could be closed down." "The customer is always right" is now the maxim.

The strategy to improve production quality was given considerable attention at the 13th CPC Congress. Poor production quality coupled with large outlays is not only a barbaric waste of resources. It also makes it impossible to reduce contradictions in the country's socioeconomic life and stand up to competition on the international market. Zhao Ziyang assessed the situation in just this way in his report at the 13th CPC Congress. And so the drive for production quality is regarded in China as a struggle for national prestige.

The exhibition of shoddy goods is not the only means of fighting for quality to which the PRC Ministry of Light Industry is resorting. It recently introduced a regulation whereby all instructions accompanying a product must include a special "Customer's Opinion" form. Shoddy goods will now be shown on national television, giving the names and addresses of the workers concerned.

Near East & South Asia

Further on Ryzhkov, Delegation Visit to India

Premiers Confer; Gandhi Speech

PM240917 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 87 Second Edition pp 1,4

[TASS report: "Soviet-Indian Talks"]

[Excerpts] Delhi, 20 Nov—N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, arrived today on an official, friendly visit to India at the invitation of Indian Prime Minister R. Gandhi and the Indian Government. [passage omitted]

Talks were held between N.I. Ryzhkov and R. Gandhi. The state of and prospects for Soviet-Indian cooperation and a broad spectrum of international problems were examined in detail. The participants in the talks expressed their satisfaction at the high level of relations between the two countries based on the principles of equality and respect for each other's sovereignty and interests.

Stress was placed on the important political significance of top-level Soviet-Indian dialogue, which not only determines the main directions of USSR-Indian cooperation but also helps establish the new political thinking in the international arena.

N.I. Ryzhkov conveyed a personal message to R. Gandhi from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. R. Gandhi expressed his sincere appreciation for the message.

The lasting significance of the 1971 Soviet-Indian Treaty, which has become the sound foundation for developing and strengthening collaboration between the two countries in all spheres, was noted.

The USSR and Indian heads of government noted with satisfaction that the wealth of the cultures and historical heritage of the two countries unfailingly draws their peoples toward each other. They expressed their certainty that the current Festival of the Soviet Union in India and the Festival of India in the USSR will help expand vital contacts among people and their mutual spiritual enrichment. The need to deepen knowledge of one another and expand cultural exchange and cooperation among public organizations was stressed here.

N.I. Ryzhkov gave an account of the processes of internal development in the USSR and the restructuring of various aspects of the life of Soviet society. He provided information on progress in carrying out the radical reform of Soviet economic management, changes in the political and spiritual spheres, and the development of socialist democracy and glasnost.

It was stressed that domestic transformations in the Soviet Union are inextricably bound up with its dynamic foreign policy, which is meeting ever-increasing understanding in the world. The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers informed Prime Minister Gandhi in detail about recent Soviet foreign policy initiatives.

R. Gandhi noted that people in India are following the Soviet leadership's foreign policy activity with great attention and interest. He rated highly the Soviet-American accords on medium-range and shorter-range missiles, which open up the way to more extensive agreements in the nuclear disarmament sphere.

During an exchange of opinion on international issues the sides expressed their common understanding of the need for joint action in the struggle to completely eliminate nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction by the end of the century. This understanding was enshrined in the Delhi Declaration on the Principles of a Nuclear Weapons-free and Nonviolent World, which marked a qualitatively new phase in the development of political and philosophical approaches to fundamental problems of interstate relations. Last year confirmed the correctness of the chosen direction:

An ever-increasing number of countries are taking part in a collective search for ways to create a durable international security system.

The sides noted increased interest on the part of the states of Asia and the Pacific in constructive political relations, in participation in the solution of global questions, and discussion of problems of war and peace. They expressed their conviction that the establishment of broad cooperation on the basis of the equality and mutual benefit of all countries of the Asian and Pacific region, irrespective of differences of social system, is in the fundamental interests of the states of that region of the world and will help restructure international relations on an equitable and democratic basis.

R. Gandhi provided information about India's efforts to normalize the situation in South Asia. He spoke, in particular, about progress in carrying out the Indian-Sri Lankan agreement on settling the ethnic conflict on that island. The Soviet side stressed that the agreement marks an important step in restoring trust between the two nonaligned countries. India and Sri Lanka have set an example of a realistic approach to solving conflict situations by political means in the spirit of new thinking and on the basis of sensible compromises.

Both sides stressed the urgent need for political settlement of conflicts and disputes in various regions of the world in accordance with the universally accepted norms of international law.

The participants in the talks noted the prominent role played by the Nonaligned Movement in defending peace and preventing nuclear catastrophe, in the struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism, and in establishing a new international economic order.

During the talks questions of trade and economic cooperation between the USSR and India were discussed in detail. In the light of the accords achieved during summit meetings in Delhi and Moscow and taking account of the results of the exchange of views held during the current official visit, specific avenues of cooperation and individual questions of key importance for the solution of the tasks set by the two countries in the sphere of the development of trade and economic relation were discussed.

The sides confirmed their desire to consolidate and diversify trade and economic relations and expand the spheres and methods of cooperation in this area. The unanimous view was expressed that it is necessary to introduce new forms of cooperation such as production sharing and specialization, the implementation of projects on a compensatory basis, the creation of joint enterprises in the USSR, India, and in third countries. It was noted in this context that the restructuring of the economy and foreign economic relations which is under way in the Soviet Union is contributing substantially to the development of new forms of Soviet-Indian cooperation. Agreement in principle was reached on signing a number of new documents concerning Soviet-Indian cooperation questions.

The talks passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Taking part on the Soviet side were V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.G. Zakharov, USSR minister of culture; G.A. Yagodin, USSR minister of higher and secondary specialized education; K.F. Katushev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations; Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister; and V.N. Rykov, USSR ambassador to India; and on the India side P.V. Narasimha Rao, minister of human resources development, health, and family welfare; Narain Dutt Tiwari, minister of finance and trade; Jagdish Tytler, minister of state for civil aviation and tourism, ministers of state for external affairs Natwar Singh and Eduardo Faleiro; T.N. Kaul, Indian ambassador to the USSR; K.P.Sh. Menon, secretary for external affairs at the Indian Ministry for External Affairs, and other officials.

In the evening Rajiv Gandhi and his wife gave a dinner in honor of N.I. Ryzhkov and his wife in Hyderabad palace.

The dinner was attended by the officials accompanying the head of the Soviet Government, members of the Indian Government, figures from the spheres of science and culture, and representatives of business circles.

The Prime Minister of India and the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers exchanged speeches.

R. Gandhi's Speech [subhead]

We are pleased to see you and Mrs Ryzhkova here. I cordially welcome you on your first visit to India as Prime Minister of your great and friendly country, R. Gandhi emphasized.

I do not mean that this is the first time that we have welcomed you to our country. Our country is greatly indebted to you personally for your contribution to the building of the Bhilai metallurgical plant. We also recall that it was you who showed my grandfather and mother the gigantic Urlamash combine during Jawaharlal Nehru's first visit to the Soviet Union as prime minister of India. Thus as you return to India almost 20 years later, we know that you will feel at home and among old friends.

The uninterrupted dialogue between our two countries at a high level is a special characteristic of our relations. The close bonds of friendship between us are renewed with each visit. The friendship between the two governments is based on the friendship between the peoples.

The Festival of the Soviet Union in India begins tomorrow. In the past few months the Soviet people have been able to see the festive side of the Indian way of life: our music and dance, our literature and art, and our folklore and crafts. We are deeply touched by the warm reception for and enthusiasm toward the Indian festival on the part of the Soviet people.

The annual Soviet festival in India will give millions of our people an opportunity to become more closely acquainted with your rich and varied cultural traditions. We shall also see examples of your outstanding scientific and economic achievements.

We in India have known the humiliation of colonialism, the joy of liberation, and the difficult tasks stemming from independence. Now, as we celebrate the 40th anniversary of our freedom, we recall what a tremendous source of inspiration the October Revolution was for us in our own struggle against imperialism. As Jawaharlal Nehru wrote about your revolution:

"Following the great Lenin, Russia looked ahead and thought only about how the future should be while other countries were paralyzed by the dead hand of the past."

In the year of the 70th anniversary of your revolution, we pay tribute to the Soviet people's heroic struggle. We listened with great interest to the stirring speech by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. He summed up the results of the achievements of the past 70 years. He formulated the strategy for the future. His words in justification and defense of restructuring are the embodiment of that strategy.

We are profoundly grateful to the Soviet Union for the support which it gave us in the cause of building our country. Approximately 30 years ago India and the Soviet Union forged the first bonds in their mutually beneficial economic and industrial cooperation.

This cooperation now embraces the most diverse spheres. It makes a considerable contribution to the successful completion of the first stage of the industrial and technical revolution in India. We have laid the new foundations of cooperation in the foremost spheres of science and technology, guided by the comprehensive long-term scientific and technical program.

Our relations are characterized by a unique combination of stability and dynamism. Throughout these years the development of our friendship has been based on our common ideals of the equality of people and of social justice. Our friendship is based on our common commitment to the cause of peace and international mutual understanding.

Indian-Soviet friendship is one factor for peace and stability throughout the world. Our 1971 treaty of peace, friendship, and cooperation served the cause of peace considerably. When General Secretary Gorbachev visited us at approximately this time last year we took a historic step and clearly formulated the common basis of our striving for peace: That was the innovative Delhi Declaration, which called for the establishment of a new world order and the ridding of the world of nuclear weapons, violence, hatred, fear, and suspicion.

We need peace throughout the world and peace in our region. We are constantly holding discussions with our neighbors on improving the general atmosphere of peace and cooperation in the region. We have signed an agreement with Sri Lanka aimed at ending the difficult internal conflict which has caused suffering to our friendly neighboring country. The agreement provides the framework for an effective solution for the good of all sides. At the same time the Tamils' aspirations are taken into account, Sri Lanka's unity is preserved, and the restoration of peace and stability in the region is envisaged.

Peace is possible only on the basis of peaceful coexistence. The strategy of rivalry between blocs on the basis of nuclear deterrence does not provide a reliable guarantee of lasting security. The elimination of nuclear weapons is an imperative in the plan of peaceful coexistence. That is why we ardently welcome the beginning of a tangible process of nuclear disarmament. The various proposals submitted by the Soviet Union with the aim of achieving nuclear disarmament are timely and constructive. We hope that the forthcoming summit meeting between General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan will advance the disarmament process to the point of attaining the goal of eliminating all nuclear weapons in the world and preventing their transfer into space. Your positive response to the concern expressed by the leaders of the six countries who put forward a peace initiative on behalf of the five continents gives us strength to continue our struggle.

Now, as we stand on the threshold of the new century, new tasks arise before us. They require new thinking and a fresh approach but at the same time a firm commitment to the ideals of peace, disarmament, and development. We are fully resolved to build a new India, one which keeps pace with the times without losing its links with its spiritual and philosophical legacy.

I am glad that during your visit to India, you and Mrs Ryzhkova will visit Agra and Bhilai. This will enable you both to gain an impression of India and of the broad cooperation between us. I am sure that you will convey to the Soviet people our people's assurances of the warmest feelings. Rajiv Gandhi wished N.I. Ryzhkov and his wife good health, a succesful outcome to the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan, and further prosperity and progress to the great Russian people, and proposed a toast to the lasting friendship and cooperation between the USSR and India and to peace throughout the world. [passage omitted]

Lenin Statue Unveiled

PM241156 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Nov 87 Second Edition pp 1, 4

[TASS report: "Peace and Friendship! Opening of the USSR Festival in India"]

[Excerpt] Delhi, 21 Nov—"Millions of people," J. Nehru said," see Lenin as the earth's savior and greatest man." From now on, the inhabitants of the Indian capital will be able to see the leader of October cast on bronze. The unveiling of a monument to V.I. Lenin took place today, on the first day of the USSR Festival in India, by a picturesque pond in Nehru Park in the center of Delhi.

Taking part in the ceremony were N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is in ...dia on an official friendly visit, Indian Prime Minister R. Gandhi, Soviet and Indian officials, and numerous representatives of the Delhi public. H.L. Kapur, lieutenant governor of Delhi, noted the great political significance of this event, and asked N.I. Ryzhkov and R. Gandhi to unveil the monument. The veil fell away. Vladimir Ilich Lenin is shown standing, as he is known and loved throughout the world: leader, thinker, and at the same time the most humane man that has ever lived on earth.

Addressing those present, N.I. Ryzhkov said:

We are taking part in an event which cannot but evoke a warm response in our hearts, cannot but prompt profound thought. With this solemn act, India expresses its respect for Vladimir Ilich Lenin and pays tribute to his bright memory.

We representatives of Lenin's motherland are sincerely grateful that one of the first events connected with the start of the Soviet Union Festival in India is the unveiling of a monument to Lenin, founder of the Soviet state and great fighter for mankind's liberation from exploitation and injustice, for the working people's happiness, for peace on earth. He was first among the cohorts who shared his views—true 20th-century knights, people of duty and honor, great merit and indomitable courage, who suffered for the millions of oppressed people throughout the world, heard their cries, and summoned them to the struggle.

Lenin guided the first steps of Soviet Russia's peoples in socialist building. He is still with us today: The restructuring is asserting the revolutionary spirit of Lenin ever more deeply in the life of our party and country.

The profundity and fearlessness of Lenin's creative thought, his exceptional capacity for the most energetic practical action in all conditions, his boundless devotion to the working people's interests—all this is now being put into practice by our party and state in strategic plans and decisions aimed at a fundamental renewal of the entire life of Soviet society.

Turning to Lenin and Lenin's time means turning to the spiritual and moral forces of the October Revolution, whose 70th anniversary has just been widely marked throughout the world.

Lenin's thoughts and acts belong to all mankind. We regard the unveiling of the Lenin monument in Delhi as recognition of his outstanding role in awakening the peoples and promoting their recognition and realization of their natural right to freedom and independence.

V.I. Lenin watched with unflagging attention and deep sympathy the development of the national liberation movement in India, seeing it as an important component of the worldwide struggle against imperialism. He pointed out that the outcome of this struggle "depends ultimately on the fact that Russia, India, China, and so forth make up the vast majority of the population," and he called on the Russian revolutionaries to "join and merge" with the national liberation fighters of the East.

It is highly significant, the speaker stressed, that the Lenin monument will stand in the park that bears the name of Jawaharlal Nehru. Architect of the new India, Nehru made a tremendous contribution to the formation of Soviet-Indian friendship and our cooperation. "Russia," J. Nehru wrote, "comes to the East as an equal partner, with no plans to subjugate it or feelings of racial superiority. Does that not explain why we welcome it?" J. Nehru regarded the October Revolution, of which Lenin was the leader, as an event of epoch-making significance, and noted that it laid the foundations for the new civilization toward which the world could move.

As if in response to that remark, a year ago, in the historic Delhi Declaration, the Soviet Union and India proposed concrete ways of moving toward a world order in which the gaurantee of security would not be nuclear arsenals, but their elimination, not the equilibrium of military force, but mutual consideration for the interests of all members of the world community—big and small, developed and developing.

Let the monument to Vladimir Ilich Lenin remind everyone who comes here of Lenin's behest to strengthen the peoples' international collaboration in the struggle for a bright future, for peace and social progress. May this monument be the embodiment of the historical and spiritual link between our two great peoples, the symbol of indestructible Soviet-indian friendship!

R. Gandhi, in his speech, noted:

Today India pays tribute to Vladimir Ilich Lenin, visionary, revolutionary, outstanding historical figure, and founder of the world's first socialist state. His words

inflamed people's minds. His actions heralded a new era. Lenin gave practical form to a new system of social organization. He was a genius who left his mark not only on the time he lived in, but on the life of subsequent generations too. He shares these qualities with another revolutionary thinker of our century—Mahatma Gandhi, who was only a year older.

Lenin is still associated in the most direct way with all the complex problems of present-day reality, and he remains a source of inspiration for all who seek to achieve an improvement in people's living conditions.

Lenin's humanism, his spirit of self-sacrifice, and his desire to wage the struggle for liberation had a key influence on the minds of those who fought for India's freedom. As Jawaharlal Nehru wrote, by the striking force of his will Lenin inspired in disunited and demoralized people the energy, determination, and strength to overcome privations and suffering in the struggle for their cause.

And the Soviet Union, inspired by Lenin, has now become a mighty country accomplishing impressive deeds.

Lenin, R. Gandhi went on to stress, carefully watched the Indian people's struggle against colonialism. He regarded India as the citadel of revolution in the East. And although different paths led us to national liberation, our two peoples were permeated by one and the same desire to break the fetters of dependence and create reborn, just, peaceful, and independent societies.

For Lenin, peace and progress were organically linked. He wrote: "The ending of wars, peace among the peoples, an end to plundering and violence—that is our ideal...."

For Mahatma Gandhi and the other leaders of India's independence movement, peace, not war, harmony, not discord, friendship, not hostility were the ideals on which countries should build their relations.

The Soviet Republic's very first international document—Lenin's Decree on Peace—set forth the basic principles of Soviet foreign policy, including peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. Indian-Soviet friendship is a unique example of this commonality of views between the two great leaders.

We are glad that a monument to this historic personality has been raised in this historic city. We are grateful to His Excellency Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, for unveiling this monument. The monument will be a constant reminder of a man who, thanks to his gift of insight and titanic efforts, opened up new horizons for mankind.

N.I. Ryzhkov, R. Gandhi, and other participants in the ceremony laid flowers at the monument.

The state anthems of the USSR and the Republic of India rang out over the park.

The creators of the monument are sculptor A.A. Tyurenkov, winner of the Lenin Prize, and honored architect of the RSFSR A.M. Polovnikov. This is the third monument to Vladimir Ilich in India. In the centennial year of the birth of October's leader a monument to him was unveiled in Calcutta, and recently a bronze statue of V.I. Lenin was erected in the city of Vijayavada in southern India. [passage omitted]

PRAVDA Reports Bhilai Visit

PM241407 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Nov 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Fusion of Friendship and Labor"]

[Excerpt] Bhilai, 23 Nov—Today N. I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the officials accompanying him made a trip to Bhilai.

They flew from Delhi to the city of Raipur and then proceeded by car. On their way, starting from the airport, the Soviet guests were warmly greeted by thousands of Indians and children with little flags repeating the colors of the state banners of the USSR and India. Lined up along the route, they chanted a slogan which is well known in our country too: "Hindi — Rusi — Bhai — Bhai!"

There is a green "friendship garden" in downtown Bhilai. N.I. Ryzhkov planted a sapling of the Indian bakula tree there.

A cordial meeting awaited the Soviet head of government at the Bhilai Metallurgical Combine. He was familiarized with the enterprise's history, the prospects for its further development, and its modernization plans.

N.I. Ryzhkov chatted with metalworkers and inquired about their businesslike mood and the course of introducing achievements of scientific and technical progress. He commended the atmosphere of international labor cooperation prevailing in the combine. This has made it possible to create a good technical base there, opening up favorable prospects for progress in accordance with the demands of the modern level of world metallurgical production.

N.I. Ryzhkov inspected a number of new production sections. He went to the No. 7 blast furnace, the largest in Bhilai, which was commissioned this summer.

The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers visited the converter shop and the continuous steel casting department and familiarized himself with the work of the unique "3600" plate mill.

A Soviet-Indian friendship rally was held in the J. Nehru Hall in the metalworkers' settlement.

The Soviet guests were presented with flowers. Bhilai school children greeted them with a song.

In his speech Motilal Vora [name as transliterated], chief minister of the Madhya Pradesh State Government, expressed profound gratitude to the Soviet friends who have helped India to create a developed industry. Our friendship, he said, is as strong as Bhilai steel. This is an important aid in our common struggle for peace and mutual understanding among the peoples.

Then N.I. Ryzhkov addressed the gathering. [passage omitted]

Gives Sculpture to Steelworkers

LD231903 Moscow TASS in English 1734 GMT 23 Nov 87

[Text] Bhilai November 23 TASS—Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, who is currently in India on an official visit, arrived in Bhilai today.

A meeting of Soviet-Indian friendship took place in the Jawaharlal Nehru hall in the steelworkers' settlement.

Motilal Vora, chief minister of Madhya Pradesh Government, and Makhan Lal Fotedar, Indian minister of steel and mines, made speeches at the meeting.

Then those present were addressed by Nikolay Ryzhkov.

In commemoration of the meeting Nikolay Ryzhkov presented the Indian steelworkers with a miniature replica of the composition "Beat Swords Into Ploughshares" sculpted by Yevgeniy Vuchetich.

Speaks at Bhilai Steelworks

LD231923 Moscow TASS in English 1845 GMT 23 Nov 87

[Text] Bhilai November 23 TASS—Nikolay Ryzhkov, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, said today at a meeting for Soviet-Indian friendship, which took place at the Bhilai metallurgical works:

Even during a brief stay at Bhilai one cannot but see for oneself that its fame is well-deserved. Your works is widely known in the Soviet Union as well. Remarkable pages of the history of our friendship are associated with it. Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has asked me to convey wholehearted greetings and the best of wishes to the staff of the factory — its workers, technicians and engineers.

The Bhilai metallurgical works is the flagship of India's heavy industry indeed and its collective, in which Indians and Soviet people work hand in hand as comrades, is a collective of friends indeed. This is why this meeting with shopfloor personnel, technicians, engineers and office workers of this famed enterprise is for us a joyous and exciting meeting.

We, Soviet people have a special attitude to the Bhilai works. It is the firstling of Soviet-Indian cooperation. It is here, at its building site, that the traditions of friendship and mutual assistance of Soviet and Indian specialists have been forged and cooperation has been started between whole collectives, production and design organizations of the two countries. For a long time I happened myself to work at Uralmash, a heavy-duty machinery factory in the Urals, which was among the first Soviet enterprises supplying equipment for your works.

I remember how during his first official visit to the Soviet Union in 1955 Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India came to the city of Sverdlovsk and visited Uralmash. He talked to workers, praised the factory's products and was surprised to learn that 30 years before there had been nothing other than a thick forest and marshland where that huge factory was standing then. Likewise, here, in the heart of Madhya-Pradesh state, there was effectively a desert and now a major, modern enteprise is towering in its place and a whole city has sprung up with tens of thousands of inhabitants.

We were told about prospects for developing the Bhilai works and plans for its further modernization. As an engineer I can say with utter responsibility: On the basis of what has already been achieved, relying on the technical facilities that have been established, the highly-skilled collective of your enterprise can confidently keep pace with technological progress.

We, Soviet people who have been involved in the works' construction are prepared to help Indian friends with this. Soviet workers, engineers, foremen have put not only their work, but also part of the hearts, in it. This is why the cause started in Bhilai lives on and the cooperation of Soviet people and Indians continues. A new Vista is opening up before us in its development.

Since the first phase of the Bhilai project was completed a quarter-century ago, much has changed both here, in India, and in the Soviet Union. Equipment has gone far forward in its development. Science has scaled new heights. In India a developed industry has been created by the labor of its people. But not everything that has happened over these years has been of the same positive significance. Despite efforts by peace-loving nations, including the Soviet Union and India, the arms race has continued in the world and mountains of terrible weapons have grown, threatening mankind with death in a

nuclear avalanche. This has been happening at a time when hundreds of millions of people in Asian, African and Latin American countries are deprived of basic necessities.

The absurd and blatantly inhuman nature of this situation is realized today by millions of people who are seeking to change the world for the better. Advancement towards this goal is inseparable from the progress of each country, each people.

Against the background of the immense amount of work launched in the Soviet Union, this is especially obvious. We have taken a course for perestroyka (restructuring) in every field of public life. Its goal is to bring out more fully the real possibilities of socialism as a system guaranteeing a person a worthy life. This means making the pace of developing science and technology much faster and the economy dynamic and efficient and increasing the returns from it for meeting the people's vital needs. The motive force and the soul of perestroyka is the democratization of all public life.

Much willpower, courage, persistence and a strong sense of purpose are needed to effect these vast changes. But we are confident of success.

This confidence is based securely on the Soviet people's gains over the 70 years since the October Revolution. As we observed the signal date recently, we summed up the results of what we have been able to achieve. Backward Russia, more than three-quarters of whose population was illiterate, where hunger was a fact of life, has turned into a mighty socialist power with an enormous economic and scientific potential. From poverty and backwardness it has risen to the heights of education and culture and become a society of broad and equal opportunities for everyone.

Our confidence in the success of perestroyka is based also on the fact that the Soviet people fully support the party's policy and are contributing their energies and creative aptitudes to the nation's economic and social progress.

Perestroyka, or the restructuring drive affecting every aspect of the Soviet Union's domestic affairs helps people to take a new approach to international affairs as well. The idea of a comprehensive system of international security and peace had won ever more extensive backing. The Delhi Declaration on principles for a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world, signed by Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi, is a striking example in this respect.

Our cooperation with India will make further advances in the next few years. In keeping with understandings reached in new Delhi last November and in the course of talks these past few days, the Soviet Union will give India assistance on mutually advantageous terms in carrying out such projects as the construction of a hydropower complex in Teri [placename as received], the reconstruction and modernization of the metallurgical factory in Bokaro, prospecting for oil and gas in West Bengal, and the building of coal mines in Bihar, the Bakreshwar thermal power station in Bengal, an oil refinery in Karnal and a number of other facilities.

The Bhilai plant gave a powerful impetus to the development of Soviet-Indian economic cooperation. Today, too, it advances abreast with world tendencies of technical progress. New vistas and new directions are being opened for it: Electronics and medicine, computer facilities and biotechnology. So, the scope and quality of our cooperation will become different.

But the matter is not only in this. Principled, organizational changes will also take place in it. Special stress will be made on developing cooperative arrangements in production and direct contacts between Soviet and Indian organizations and firms. It is provided to launch also joint Soviet-Indian ventures in the Soviet Union, India and other countries.

I would like to express the conviction that all Soviet specialists working here, in Bhilai, and at other cooperation projects in different parts of India will always carry high the banner of their professional and civic honor and keep sharing experience with their Indian workmates generously.

In the period when Jawaharlal Nehru visited the Soviet Union as the first prime minister of independent India, there was a popular slogan in our countries, which expresses well the attitude of the Soviet and Indian peoples to each other. This slogan, "Hindi — Rusi — Bhai — Bhai" (Russians and Indians are brothers), indicates the closeness of the peoples of multinational India and the multinational Soviet Union and the community of their interests. And we repeat this slogan today.

We shall keep strengthening friendship with India and developing our cooperation. This is one of the important aspects of Soviet foreign policy. This meets the historical traditions of our countries and the tasks they are setting themselves.

From the bottom of our hearts we wish all workers and specialists of the Bhilai metallurgical works further success and fruitful work for the benefit of India.

May Soviet-Indian friendship live long.

Hindi — Rusi — Bhai — Bhai.

Talks with Defense Minister

LD241306 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] The official friendly visit to India by Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, continues. Today he met a number of ministers of the Indian Government and questions of the development of cooperation between the two countries were discussed. During the conversation between Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov and Indian Defense Minister Pant, it was stressed that Soviet-Indian military contacts are not aimed against any third country, are in accordance with the peace-loving character of the foreign policies of both states, and are in the interests of their defense capabilities.

Meets with Indian Ministers

LD241313 Moscow TASS in English 1225 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] New Delhi November 24 TASS—TASS special correspondent reports:

Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers staying here on an official friendly visit, met with a number of Indian ministers today.

During Ryzhkov's conversation with Narayan Dutt Tiwari, minister of finance and commerce of India, they expressed high appreciation of Soviet-Indian cooperation in trade, economy, science, technology and other spheres and voiced their readiness to actively promote a further development of versatile relations between the USSR and India on an equitable and mutually advantageous basis.

Ryzhkov met as well with P.V. Narasimha Rao, minister of human resources development and health and family welfare, chairman of the Indian organizing committee of the Festivals of India and the USSR. It was pointed out that the opening of the Soviet festival in New Delhi had become a feast of friendship of the two nations and another memorable event in the history of Soviet-Indian relations.

They spoke out in favour of the expansion of cooperation in the sphere of culture and education and emphasized the importance of putting into practice the principles of a new thinking, the priority of all-human values in politics.

During Ryzhkov's conversation with India's Defense Minister Krishna Chandra Pant they expressed satisfaction over the level and development prospects of Soviet-Indian relations and exchanged views on issues of mutual interest. They emphasized that Soviet-Indian military cooperation was not directed against any third country, that it served the interests of their defense capacity in line with a peaceful nature of the foreign policy of both countries.

Ryzhkov met with Vasant Sathe, minister of energy. During their conversation they pointed out that mutually advantageous cooperation between the USSR and India in the sphere of energy generation had extensive potentialities and development prospects and was of a long-term nature.

The conversations were held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Gerasimov On 'Discordant Note' With Pakistan

PM231637 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Nov 87 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "At USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"]

[Excerpts] Positive improvements in international relations made by the efforts of the Soviet Union and other countries interested in strengthening international security and the developing preparations for the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting have had a beneficial impact on the work of the UN General Assembly's First Committee. This was stated 19 November by G.I. Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, at a routine briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists. [passage omitted]

The Foreign Ministry spokesman then announced that Pakistani President Ziaul Haq had just claimed in an interview with *The Washington Times*, which is well known for its predilection for hostile articles toward our country, that the Soviet Union is "constantly knocking at Pakistan's door, and it is increasingly difficult for Pakistan to withstand such persistence." After its publication the president accused the Soviet Union of complicity in terrorist acts in Pakistan with a view to destabilizing the situation in the country. He also voiced a threatening prophecy regarding the fact that if the Soviet Union succeeds in sowing the seeds of socialism in Afghanistan this will lead to dangerous consequences both in Afghanistan and also in Pakistan.

Ziaul Haq's latest statements sound a discordant note against the background of repeated assurances from high-ranking Pakistani officials regarding their desire for dialogue with the Soviet Union on Afghan affairs and bilateral relations. Evidently, the president is now looking in another direction if he does not hesitate to slander the policy of a state for the sake of friendly relations with which he has more than once gone out of his way. The appropriate conclusions will be drawn from the Pakistani president's statements.

The Soviet Union favors developing dialogue and normal — better still — friendly relations with Pakistan. However, this policy of ours is not meeting the due response from the Pakistani side, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman pointed out. [passage omitted]

Ziaul Haq Accusations Criticized

PM231157 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Nov 87 Second Edition p 5

[V. Shurygin "Rejoinder": "A Trite Method"]

[Text] General Ziaul Haq has crudely attacked the Soviet Union. Without feeling in any way constrained by his status as head of a state in maintaining normal relations with our country, the Pakistani president declared in particular that some of his compatriots, apparently "on instructions from the USSR," are organizing explosions in different regions in the country for the purpose of changing the Pakistani Government's policy toward Afghanistan.

Why did the general find it necessary to resort to the trite method used by anti-Sovietists in the "cold war" times, who often tried to blame "the hand of Moscow" for disorders in their own countries? The answer is simple. The political situation in Pakistan was recently exacerbated to extremes. There are almost daily clashes on ethnic and religious grounds. There are more frequent squabbles between dushmans and local residents demanding that armed detachments of the Afghan counterrevolution leave Pakistan. There are continuing mass demonstrations by various strata of the population in defense of their rights and interests. All this, together with the explosions which have actually occurred, is an expression of the Pakistanis' dissatisfaction with the policy of Ziaul Haq's regime — militarization at the expense of the country's socioeconomic development, suppression of elementary democratic freedoms, complicity in the undeclared war against the DRA, and subordination of national interests to Washington's imperial ambitions.

Ziaul Haq is attempting to use anti-Soviet fabrications to divert the public's attention from the true causes of political instability in the country. This method is useless, especially in our time. Times have changed and people, including Pakistani people, I believe, have learned to distinguish between truth and fantasy, especially when attempts are made to use fantasies to cover up bankrupt policies.

Unrest Shows Complex Problems in Bangladesh

PM231149 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Nov 87 Second Edition p 6

[Own correspondent V. Korovikov dispatch under the rubric "Rumors and Facts": "The 'Siege' of Dhaka"]

[Excerpt] Delhi, 15 Nov—[Passage omitted] The situationin Dhaka remains tense and explosive. Opposition leaders have called for a continuation of the antigovernment actions.

The final 2 days of last week were marked by stormy demonstrations, strikes, and sharp clashes with the police. On Saturday 14 November alone more than 100 people were injured. During the whole week of unrest in Dhaka more than 20 people were killed and more than 1,500 arrested. The government, in an effort to split its opponents, announced yesterday a ban on three political parties including the Communist Party of Bangladesh, accusing them of terrorism and incitement to anarchy. The authorities' instructions to police authorizing them to shoot people without warning on the capital's streets has evoked numerous protests.

The Indian press writes that General Ershad has come up against a serious crisis. His bravado statements that the opposition is impotent and that its leaders are political "nonentities" have been quashed by the scale and intensity of the unrest that has seized Dhaka. Local observers are also noting that this stormy week could seriously influence the mood in the Army, which has not been called in to help suppress the current unrest. The Delhi newspaper *New Age* writes that "the development of events could exceed General Ershad's capacity to control the situation. He could be forced to call a new general election or the military could replace him in the presidency with another general."

This turn of events would spell new problems and difficulties for the people of Bangladesh. The influential Indian newspaper *The Statesman* writes in an editorial: "One of the tragedies of Bangladesh lies in the fact that the expression of popular will plays a very small part in politics there."

The 'siege' of Dhaka and Bangladeshis' strikes and demonstrations during the past week have again exposed the depth social contradictions and complex problems in the life of this south Asian republic.

DRA's Wakil Criticizes UN 'Afghan' Debate

LD221520 Moscow TASS in English 1323 GMT 22 Nov 87

[Text] Kabul November 22 TASS—Abdul Wakil, foreign minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, has evaluated the outcome of the discussion of the so-called Afghan question at the U.N. General Assembly. In an interview with *Bakhtar* news agency he said, in part, that the debates at the U.N. General Assembly session on the situation concerning Afghanistan for the most part served exclusively the purposes of propaganda of some states hostile to the DRA, that is the United States and Pakistan.

Realizing that going on with fruitless discussions will not help establish peace and security in the country, the delegation of Afghanistan has confirmed from the very start of the session's proceedings its readiness to pass over from discussions to the elaboration of a draft that would truly contribute to the achievement of comprehensive peace and take into account the interests of all

parties, Abdul Wakil stressed. Such a draft of settlement was proposed by the delegations of Syria and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY). Two factors underlined this draft: observance of non-intervention in the DRA internal affairs and approval of the results achieved at the Geneva negotiations. However, to counter this plan of settlement, Pakistan came up with its own non-constructive, lop-sided and unbalanced draft which basically did not differ from its previous proposals.

It is essential to point out here in a most clear-cut way that the draft of the settlement advanced by Syria and the PDRY won broad support by the majority of the U.N. member countries, Abdul Wakil went on. Everybody knows that several months ago the DRA took important steps and displayed good will to attain a truly reasonable and comprehensive settlement of the situation around the country. To this end, delegations were sent to 52 countries and negotiations were conducted with foreign ministers of 33 non-aligned movement member states.

One may say that from the political point of view these activities were a major historic achievement of the DRA. The world public was familiarized with the goals and tasks of the national reconciliation policy. Afghanistan showed good will also at the Geneva negotiations. So, if armed interference in the DRA domestic affairs from Pakistani territory were ceased, the conflict would be speedily settled. However, this stand of Afghanistan ran up against stiff resistance on the part of Pakistan and the United States.

We can say that the results of the voting on the so-called Afghan issue at the United Nations do not reflect the political stance of the majority of the member countries of this organisation, which support the national reconciliation policy in Afghanistan. All hold a uniform view that interference in the DRA internal affairs is carried out basically from Pakistani territory with the extensive backing of the United States.

In conclusion Abdul Wakil noted that the domestic and foreign policies now implemented by the Afghan leadership had exerted enormous influence on the world public.

Iran To Build Uranium Extraction Plant

PM231405 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed report under the rubric "From the IZVESTIYA Teletype Room": "Construction Plans"]

[Text] Iran has adopted a decision to begin building the country's first uranium extraction plant, according to AFP.

The enterprise will be situated in Yazd province in the center of the country, close to uranium ore deposits. The construction start date is still unspecified. According to Iranian experts, the country's uranium deposits amount to approximately 5,000 tonnes.

Saudis, Bahrain To Resume Ties With Egypt

PM231401 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed report under the rubric "From the IZVESTIYA Teletype Room": "Relations To Be Restored"]

[Text] Saudi Arabia and Bahrain have announced their decision to restore diplomatic relations with Egypt, UPI reports from Cairo.

Seven Arab countries have therefore taken this step to date in line with the decision reached by the Amman summit conference of representatives of Arab League countries, which left this issue to the discretion of each country individually. The Arab world's diplomatic boycott of Egypt was announced in 1979 in reaction to the conclusion of separate Camp David agreements between Egypt and Israel.

Tunisia To Pursue Normalization With Libya

PM231359 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent V. Neznamov report under the rubric "Reports From Abroad": "On the Road to Normalization"]

[Text] Algiers—The new Tunisian leadership intends to pursue a course of further normalizing interstate relations with Libya. This was announced by Tunisian President Zine El Abedine Ben Ali at a meeting with the Libyan permanent representative to the Arab League.

Let us remind ourselves that not everything has gone smoothly between Tunis and Tripoli for a number of years. Sometimes their differences of approach to certain problems have intensified and measures have consequently been taken which either one country or the other has regarded as an encroachment on their national interests. The last such confrontational period lasted more than 2 years.

This year, with constant and growing mediation by Algeria, representatives of the two neighboring states have agreed to resume normal relations. Consular relations were restored between Libya and Tunisia a month ago and the state border has been reopened. The statement by the new Tunisian president therefore confirms that the move away from confrontation and in the direction of good neighborliness will continue.

Soviet Warships Conclude Visit Tunisia

PM241223 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Nov 87 First Edition p 3

[TASS report under general heading: "Ships' Visit"]

[Text] Tunis, 23 Nov—The official friendly visit by a detachment of Soviet warships under the command of Rear Admiral V.G. Yegorov to the Tunisian port of La Goulette has ended.

During the visit the voyage commander was received by Tunisian Prime Minister H. Baccouche and S. Baly, minister of state for national defense.

The large ASW ships *Komsomolets Ukrainy* and *Skoryy* were visited by numerous inhabitants of the Tunisian capital.

Imperialist Forces Provoke Mideast Terrorism

PM231213 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Nov 87 Second Edition p 6

[Article by A. Ignatenko: "Near East: The Roots of Terrorism"]

[Text] Reports about acts of terrorism are coming in from various parts of the world. According to the Western press, 415 such acts that resulted in 400 people being killed and 1,242 injured were recorded in 1986 alone. Over the past decade, more than 4,500 terrorist outrages were committed, claiming numerous victims. Terrorism, as a rule, leads to an aggravation of the situation and jeopardizes normal international relations. The greatest concern is caused by the fact that, in addition to individual and group terrorism, there is a particularly dangerous form of armed violence fraught with unpredictable consequences, namely state terrorism. Imperialist powers are resorting to it with increasing frequency.

What creates a fertile ground for outbursts of terrorism? Regional crises and conflicts, fueled by imperialist forces, are cited among the main causes. The Near East provides an almost classic example.

Probably nowhere else in the world does violence prevail on such a scale as there. The Arab-Israeli conflict has been going on for 4 decades. On several occasions during this time, bloody wars have broken out. Israel, backed by the United States, is holding on to the Arab territories seized in the course of these wars. A whole nation — the Palestinian people — have been driven out of their homeland by the occupation forces. There are several terrible landmarks in the history of the Palestinians, from the massacre at Dayr Yasin in 1948 to the mass killings in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in 1982. The situation in the region is further aggravated by the protracted internal crisis in Lebanon and the Iran-Iraq war, which is in its eighth year. Any further dragging out of these crisis situations is fraught with widening the circle of violence further.

It is no secret that the blocking by Washington and Tel Aviv of a just solution of the Near East problem and their refusal to recognize the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people have, on several occasions, led to outbursts of despair among the Arabs and engendered or reinforced their lack of faith in the possibility of a solution of this problem by political means. It was for this reason, for instance, that extremist elements who saw terror as the only form of struggle grew active among the Palestinians. This correlation dates back a long time, but recent events have confirmed it. A new wave of terrorism followed the stepped up attempts by the United States in early 1985 to expand the sphere of separate deals, which led to the signing of the well-known Amman agreement, and which deepened the rift in the Palestinian ranks.

On the other hand, strange as it may seem at first glance, terrorism has also flared up when prospects have emerged of extricating the Near East crisis from the impasse. So, last year, the idea of collective efforts to achieve a Near East settlement and to convene a representative international conference for this purpose began to pick up increasing support in the world, including the West. Yet precisely at this time, acts of terrorism were committed in Paris, Istanbul, Karachi, and some other cities. What is more, they were committed by mysterious groups whose titles included the words "Arab," "Palestinian," or "Islamic." Exploiting this, the United States and Israel promptly alleged the PLO's complicity in these acts and began to talk again about the "terrorist character" of this organization and their unwillingness to negotiate with it. At the same time, threats poured out in respect of certain Arab countries. This was done to undermine the trend in favor of collective efforts aimed at settling the conflict.

It is true that the PLO is waging a liberation struggle, including an armed struggle, against the occupation forces. However, it resolutely condemns terrrorism, just as it condemns efforts to attach this label to the national liberation movement of the Palestinian people. This stance is shared by the Arab states.

Meanwhile, the Beirut journal *Al-Nahar al-'Arabi Wa al-Duwali* notes, imperialist and Zionist propaganda invariably depicts the Arabs, and in particular the Palestinians, as terrorists. This is done, the journal writes, in order to instill hatred toward them in the public of many countries and to undermine the growing feeling of sympathy for the Palestinian people and the PLO.

The confusion, at times deliberate, surrounding many recent acts of terrorism is actively exploited to this end. What do I mean? Frequently, responsibility for a specific

action is ascribed to a specific organization and later disproved. This has become almost the rule in respect to the Islamic Jihad organizations. Certain groupings claim to represent specific Arab countries, although there are no grounds for this. Sometimes several organizations claim "responsibility" for an act of terrorism, and sometimes none at all. Responsibility has even been claimed for air disasters which subsequently turn out to be a result of technical faults or human error.

In view of the fact that most of the declarations of this kind are made by telephone or letter to news agencies, it is often difficult to say who is behind a specific act of terrorism. It is obvious that in these circumstances there is much scope for all kind of provocations and false accusations.

More and more reports to the effect that Western and Israeli special services are engaging in this kind of provocative activities for all they are worth are leaking out into the press. *The Washington Post* has reported that the CIA has trained a number of operational groups, including people of Arab origin. In March 1985, one of them carried out the bombing on the southern outskirts of Beirut as a result of which 72 people were killed and 256 injured.

The Madrid magazine *Cambio-16* has reported that French special service agents working together with the CIA set up a terrorist front organization consisting of Arab emigres in Spain on the eve of the U.S. anti-Libyan campaign in February-March last year. The journal writes that the organization's task was to compromise the Libyan diplomatic mission in the Spanish capital.

Nor can I omit to mention the anti-Syrian ballyhoo organized a year ago on the self-same pretext of "combating terrorism." Attempts were made to justify it by unsubstatiated claims of Damascus' complicity in the unsuccessful attempt to blow up an Israeli passenger airliner at London airport. Repeated denials issued by Syrian officials were stubbornly ignored. This obviously was no accident. According to information published in many places and specifically in the West German magazine *Der Spiegel*, this action pursuing provocative aims was prepared by people connected with Mossad, the Israeli special service.

It is characteristic that by no means all Western politicians hasten to "credit" the Arabs with all acts of terrorism. French Premier Jacques Chirac adopted a realistic stance in the wake of a series of explosions in Paris. He declared that such actions were likely to be the work of small groups and that their origin and their interests, and the interests of those manipulating them, were difficult to establish.

It is well known that neither the Arab states nor the PLO are proposing to resolve the Near East crisis by means of terrorist methods. Meanwhile Washington and Tel Aviv, thwarting a political settlement, have made terrorism their usual practice in the region.

Allow me to cite a few examples of recent years. In October 1985, U.S. 6th Fleet fighter planes intercepted a civilian Egyptian aircraft carrying Palestinians. In the same month, Israeli aircraft carried out a raid on the PLO headquarters in Tunis. In April 1986, the U.S. Air Force delivered missile and bomb strikes against the Libyan cities of Tripoli and Benghazi. Since the beginning of 1987, the Israeli Air Force carried out more than 20 bombing raids on Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon.

It is difficult to foretell what other forms of brigandage the United States and its "strategic ally" will resort to in the Near East. One thing is clear. These outrages are on a par with the Israeli aggression in Lebanon in 1982, the U.S. invasion of Grenada, and the undeclared U.S. wars against Afghanistan and Nicaragua. In other words, they are part and parcel of the unlawful policy of "neoglobalism."

"Terrorism is indeed a terrible evil: It is the scourge of our times," M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has said. "However, to try to eradicate it using state terrorism means committing an even greater crime, because increasing numbers of people, the sovereignty of states, and international law fall victim to it, not to mention simple morality and justice. As a result, a vicious circle of violence and bloodshed is created."

The principles of the new political thinking put forward by the Soviet Union rule out tyranny in international relations. What is needed most is a resolute and effective struggle against international terrorism, irrespective of the forms it takes and irrespective of the arguments used to justify it. The USSR has been appealing to all states persistently and for a long time to take joint action to eradicate this dangerous phenomenon.

"Eradicate" means "remove the roots of," that is, above all to remove causes and preconditions giving rise to terrorism. The following are essential to achieve this: unconditional respect in the practice of international law for the right of every nation independently to choose the ways and forms of its development; a just political settlement of international crises and regional conflicts; and elaboration of a range of measures aimed at strengthening confidence between states and creating effective guarantees against aggression from outside, and for the inviolability of their borders. Naturally, it is also necessary to elaborate effective methods to prevent international terrorism, including ways to guarantee the safety of international surface, air, and sea communications.

Implementation of the aforementioned principles and measures is possible in the context of the general struggle for peace and stability on the planet.

East Europe

Gorbachev Speeches Published in Bulgaria

LD240135 Moscow TASS in English 2116 GMT 23 Nov 87

[Text] Sofia November 23 TASS—The Bulgarian publishing house Partizdat has issued a selection of reports, speeches and interviews by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central committee.

According to the BTA news agency, the new collection, which covers the period between February and November 1987, gives the Bulgarian public at large an insight into the vigorious domestic and international activities of the CPSU and the Soviet State.

Murakhovskiy Sees GDR Agriculture Minister

LD232359 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 23 Nov 87

[Text] Comrade Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, received Lietz, minister of agriculture, forestry and foodstuffs of the GDR today. An exchange of opinions took place on the course of cooperation between the two countries in the fields of agriculture and the foodstuffs branch of industry, and questions of deepening and broadening economic and scientific and technical links in the sphere of the agro-industrial complex were discussed.

PRAVDA Reports CPCZ Presidium Session

PM231251 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 87 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Session"]

[Text] Prague, 20 Nov—Alongside important foreign policy questions, a CPCZ Central Committee Presidium session held here has discussed tasks connected with the improvement of the activity of party organs, CPCZ primary organizations, and all Communists in implementing the decisions of the 17th party congress. A decisive task of the present stage, the session noted, is to march in the vanguard of the struggle for the implementation of the restructuring of the economic mechanism and for the intensification of socialist democracy. In this connection, the CPCZ leadership pointed to the importance of openness in the party and society. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium drew attention to the need for the improvement of internal party life, of the observance of the party rules, of collegiality in work, and of the intensification of intraparty democracy.

There was an examination of the project for measures for a qualitative improvement of cadres policy since the 17th CPCZ Congress. In cadres work it is necessary consistently to adhere to collegiality and democratic principles and to make more use of the competitive and electoral system in selecting leading workers.

The session discussed the draft of the comprehensive document on restructuring the economic mechanism in the CSSR.

Polish Army Officer on Disarm Initiatives

PM231305 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Nov 87 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with Colonel Stanislaw Skotnicki, representative of the Polish People's Army General Staff, by Stanislaw Ruszkowski of INTERPRESS for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA: "Policy of Peace Against Policy of War. In the Interests of Mutual Security"; first paragraph is editorial introduction; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, speaking at the meeting of the representatives of parties and movements who were in Moscow to celebrate the 70th anniversary of Great October this month, gave a high assessment of the USSR's invariably peace-loving, principled, and, at the same time, constructive policy. This policy, the Polish leader pointed out, "enjoys the full and active support of our party and state." People in Poland received the announcement of the upcoming Soviet-U.S. summit meeting with satisfaction and hope. "Our position on this question," W. Jaruzelski stressed, "conforms with the age-old tradition of Polish foreign policy, which we recently confirmed by submitting a comprehensive plan for arms reduction and confidence building in central Europe." Colonel Stanislaw Skotnicki, representative of the Polish People's Army General Staff, talked about this initiative, which has been called the "Jaruzelski plan."

[Ruszkowski] The idea of arms limitation has always held an important place in Polish foreign policy. This is illustrated by the disarmament initiatives which we have consistently put forward since the end of World War II. What is the essence of the new Polish plan concerning arms reduction and confidence building in central Europe?

[Skotnicki] Since 1945 Poland has submitted many disarmament initiatives. A European accent is perceptible in Polish concepts of arms limitation and strengthening international security. Our country is at the center of Europe. As history has shown, this location, which is extremely favorable in peacetime, is critical at moments of armed conflicts. Therefore, we are not indifferent to the political and military processes at work on our continent. The concept of Europe's security and of ridding its central part of nuclear weapons as expounded in the "Rapacki plan" of 1957 arose in this context, as did the proposals on the question of freezing nuclear armaments in central Europe, as expounded in the "Gomulka plan" submitted in 1963.

The new Polish initiative with regard to arms reduction and confidence building in central Europe was submitted 8 May 1987 at the Second Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth Congress by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski and then developed in a Polish Government memorandum of 17 July this year. As W. Jaruzelski stressed, we see our own security as the security of others.

[Ruszkowski] What does this plan mainly consist of, and what is the essence of its approach to disarmament problems?

[Skotnicki] The Polish proposal, like the peace-loving initiatives from other countries in the socialist community, is aimed at reducing the level of military confrontation in Europe. It concentrates its main attention on the area through which the demarcation line separating the two opposing military-political blocs passes, where there is a particular danger of the outbreak of armed conflict. The sphere of the proposed measures embraces the territory of nine European states: Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, and Poland, as well as the FRG, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and Denmark.

When talking about the geographical scale of the Polish plan, it must be stressed that without repeating former concepts it is organically linked with other proposals concerning the territory of Europe. The Polish initiative accords well, for example, with proposals put forward by the GDR and CSSR Governments on the creation of a corridor free from nuclear and chemical weapons along the line of contact of the Warsaw Pact and NATO. The "Jaruzelski plan" envisages the possibility of extending the territory where the planned measures will be implemented to all of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals via the affiliation of other European states.

The plan specifically envisages:

1. The gradual withdrawal and/or reduction of certain jointly agreed types and quantities of nuclear armaments, with these measures applying to all types of weapons not included in other agreements, and in particular to those such as operational-tactical missiles—especially those with a range of up to 500 km—nuclear artillery, nuclear-capable aircraft, and also nuclear charges, including mines and nuclear bombs. They must be viewed with consideration for measures to remove and reduce conventional weapons.

2. The gradual withdrawal and/or reduction of certain jointly agreed types and quantities of conventional armaments, with these measures applying primarily to weapons with the greatest strike power and precision and serving the conduct of offensive operations, including sudden attack, and in particular such weapons as strike aviation, tanks, combat helicopters, and nonnuclear long-range and missile artillery.

3. Joint actions with the aim of ensuring the evolution of military doctrines so that they may be mutually deemed to be strictly defensive. With this in view, it is necessary to try to base them on the principle of sufficiency, which justifies the presence at a state's disposal of a military potential such as serves exclusively to ensure defense.

4. The coordination of the appropriate far-reaching confidence- and security-building measures and also mechanisms to strictly monitor the observance of commitments, including those which it would be difficult, for various reasons, to introduce throughout all Europe.

The plan is conceived in such a way that, while fitting into the overall mainstream of the socialist states' disarmament initiatives, it enables us to begin specific talks which could bring us nearer to disarmament.

[Ruszkowski] Why is the plan linked with both nuclear and conventional arms limitation?

[Skotnicki] Nuclear and conventional operational-tactical weapons predominate quantitatively in the military potentials accumulated in this zone. Their range (approximately 500 km) poses the highest threat. In principle they belong to the ground forces' organizational structures. Therefore, the Polish plan envisages a simultaneous reduction in both nuclear and conventional potentials.

The close link between the aforementioned weapons is explained by the fact that to a large extent these same means can be used in two ways, that is, to inflict a strike with conventional and nuclear charges. Poland has proposed such steps as lead to a gradual reduction in the operational-tactical nuclear and conventional weapons potential on condition that they will create guarantees of the sides' equal security in central Europe. This idea must dispel the fears of some Western states apropos the maintenance of an imbalance in conventional potentials after the possible elimination of nuclear weapons. It is important that the most powerful conventional weapons be eliminated at the same time as the nuclear means are removed. This solution correspondingly reduces the sides' capability for offensive actions while thereby strengthening states' mutual feeling of security and confidence.

Proceeding from the principle that the currently existing military-strategic equilibrium continues to remain a factor preventing war, the Warsaw Pact states, in accordance with the defensive character of their military doctrine, will continue consistently to endeavor to implement their idea of arms limitation.

Sejm Considers Ombudsman, Referendum Plans

PM240915 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Main Element of Renewal"]

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Nov—A routine session of the Polish Sejm has been held here.

The Sejm has appointed the first civil rights ombudsman in the country's history. The person appointed is Professor Ewa Lentowska of the Polish Academy of Sciences' institute of state and law. The creation of the new public institution will help to further develop and expand socialist democracy.

Roman Malinowski, marshal of the Sejm, emphasized in his speech the exceptionally great importance of the nationwide referendum to be held on 29 November. While granting all citizens the right to decide on the means and pace of the transformations, he said, the Sejm wants to make the reform an irreversible process which enjoys society's support. The reform is the main element in the new stage of socialist renewal in Poland.

Taking part in the session's work were Z. Messner, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, and other Polish leaders.

Hungarian Banker Cited on Reforms

PM231311 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Nov 87 Second Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent V. Gerasimov under the rubric "Friends' Research": "Knowing What Is Good"]

[Text] Budapest, Nov—...I have known Sandor Demjan for along time. He used to be head of one of the country's most successful enterprises: The "Skala Koop" cooperative association. He is now general manager of the Hungarian Credit Bank, set up since the recent reform of Hungarian financial institutions.

"In my new job I am still constantly reading a variety of works on political economy, Lenin in particular," he said. "Vladimir Ilich considered it necessary, even under socialism, to develop healthy competition between banks, he fought against individual economic monopolies, and sought to demonstrate that the new society should be built on the basis of commitment levers, economic incentives. Lenin clearly stated that the economy must be run through the banks. And the restructuring we are observing today in the Soviet Union is in tune with Leninist principles. Our bank reform in Hungary should also have been carried out considerably earlier....

The difficulties encountered by the Hungarian economy in recent years are due not only to adverse external causes, but also, Hungarian economic managers believe, to the fact that the reform was not always being conducted consistently. Enterprises, for example, had been given independence and economic regulation had become more important, but the Hungarian National Bank remained a monopoly organization: Through it the 'benevolent' state also financed the underdeveloped enterprises.

"In 1983 Hungarian enterprises were authorized to issue bonds and set up joint-stock companies. Small innovation funds appeared—they financed inventions. Promissory notes have been used since 1985 and enterprises now owe one another money. Then, finally, the whole banking structure was transformed.

To the casual observer, the massive Hungarian National Bank building is the same as before. But behind the modern facade, desks are already laden with materials, all of which relate to the formation and implementation of the socialist state's monetary and budget policy. This means that internal credit has been abandoned. Regulation of the money supply, balancing of the national economy, and protection of the purchasing power of the forint—that is now the task of local 'bankers.' Gold and foreign currency reserves are being accumulated and operations are being implemented involving numerous foreign credits, payments, and debts. Indirect financial levers are also being elaborated to influence the five newly-created commercial banks, such as the Hungarian Credit Bank.

"They are all pretty independent. But they have one special feature—they operate as joint-stock companies.

"Enterprises are now able to apply to us or to any other commercial bank for credit. There is now competition."

S. Demjan, talking about the commencement of the long voyage through the waves of the economic sea, right away highlighted the chief factor: competitiveness and friendly partnership. Since the new bank is a joint-stock company, it has enlisted many plants, factories, cooperatives, and trade associations as partners.

The potential? Some 8.9 billion forints of statutory [ustavnyy) capital: Some 6.9 billion of this is owned by the state and 2 billion was invested by enterprises buying bonds.

The system is that one bond costs 500,000 forints.The buyer gets the right to one vote on the Council of Directors. The biggest stockholder is the Tisza chemical combine (500 million forints—5,000 votes). In principle, this is a violation of the original resolution prohibiting a single organization from having more than 2,000 votes. But in this case a flexible approach has been adopted: After all, it is necessary at the moment to mobilize as many enterprise resources as possible.

"Helping enterprises with credits to assimilate new technology and produce competetive products is one of our tasks," the general manager said. "We also make a point of financing capital investments that provide a quick return (5 years maximum). We attach great significance to the creation of joint Hungarian-Soviet and other mixed enterprises, the expansion of various joint-stock associations, and improvement of financial links in order to increase the mobility of the forint.

"The bank thus becomes a kind of economic helmsman.

"If, for example, an enterprise in a difficult financial situation has reasonable goals and displays vigor and the initiative to increase profitability and the production of world-class articles, the bank will provide preferential terms to give it a boost," my interlocutor said.

In order to mobilize people's savings, the bank has set up a special branch which will give loans to individuals, small craftsmen, traders, labor assocaitions, and cooperatives.

The other commercial banks are fitting themselves out and setting sail for the "economic sea." One of them is involved in modernizing packing equipment and revamping a number of food industry shops and hotel facilities and is aiding the further development of foreign tourism. Another, the Budapest Bank, is engaged in issuing securities and bonds. Small banks are also active—there are about 15 of them, set up on the basis of former innovation funds.

Now, incidentally, any enterprise can found a commercial bank. The minimum basis for one is 1 billion forints and for a specialized, innovation bank—500 million. But the "bank of banks" (the Hungarian National Bank) will regulate their activity, determining standard loan interest rates, reserve funds, and taxes.

The "bank of banks" and another five commercial banks are the flagships leading the other financial enterprises in their wake. They are able to join forces in a common causes amd concentrate efforts. But it must be borne in mind too that the Hungarian Ministry of Finance has set up a new institution—the State Institute for Development. Since the socialist state makes it a principle not to rely on the market mechanism and on commodity-money relationships, the institute will deal with major capital investments of national importance. They may have a slow return, but they are a fundamental necessity.

"We have implemented yet another important part of the economic reform, a very significant one," S. Demjan said. "It reflects the principle of justice in the economic sphere: Whoever makes the decision, be it state or enterprise, must also bear the financial consequences and the responsibility for it. Otherwise, you will have the same situation you have had in the past—mistakes are made but the culprits cannot be found. Today one must know precisely what is good for the state and the people and what is not...."

West Europe

More on Portugal's Soares Visit to Moscow

Arrives, Greeted by Officials

PM241255 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "On an Official Visit"]

[Text] President Mario Soares of Portugal arrived in Moscow 23 November for an official visit at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

M. Soares and his wife were welcomed on the tarmac at Vnukovo Airport by A.A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and his wife, and P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Also present were A.A. Mokanu, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; USSR Ministers B.I. Aristov, V.M. Velichko, and Yu.m. Volmer; S.A. Losev, general director of TASS; A.G. Kovalev, USSR first deputy foreign minister; O.D. Davydov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations; V.P. Kasatkin, USSR ambassador to Portugal, and other officials.

S. de Sacadura Cabral, Portuguese ambassador to the USSR, was also in the welcoming party.

State flags of Portugal and the USSR were hoisted at the airport, which was decked with greetings banners, and an honor guard from the three branches of the USSR Armed Forces—Ground Forces, Air Force, and Navy—was drawn up on the tarmac. A band played the state anthems of the two countries.

A.A. Gromyko and M. Soares reviewed the lineup of Soviet servicemen.

The official ceremony ended with a march-past by the honor guard.

The streets and squares of the capital through which the motorcade, escorted by motorcycle outriders, passed were decked with the state flags of Portugal and the Soviet Union.

Holds Talks With Gromyko

PM241243 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Nov 87 Second Edition pp 1,4

[TASS report under the heading "Soviet-Portuguese Talks"]

[Text] Talks began in the Kremlin on 23 November between A.A. Gromyko and President Mario Soares of the Portuguese Republic. Participating in the talks are:

On the Soviet side—P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; A.A. Mokanu, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; B.I. Aristov, USSR minister of foreign trade; Yu.M. Volmer, USSR minister of the maritime fleet; A.G. Kovalev, USSR first

deputy foreign minister; O.D. Davydov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations; G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Academician Ye.M. Primakov; V.P. Kasatkin, USSR ambassador to Portugal; and other Soviet officials;

On the Portuguese side—Joao Ferreira do Amaral, Portuguese minister of commerce and tourism; Antonio Patricio, general secretary of the Portuguese Foreign Ministry; Sergio de Sacadura Cabral, Portuguese ambassador to the USSR; and other Portuguese officials.

By agreement the two sides exchanged views on matters of the international situation and foreign policy.

Mario Soares spoke of the place of his country in the Portuguese-speaking world and in the present-day international relations.

The Soviet side firmly emphasized that the Soviet Union was an adherent of peace and peaceful development of states.

"Taking into account the existence of nuclear weapons and other types of weapons of mass destruction, the most topical task for all states and peoples is to safeguard peace against a nuclear catastrophe. The only reliable way to that is to reduce and ultimately fully to eliminate nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union's efforts in external affairs are aimed precisely at attaining this lofty and humane goal."

"In this connection, it is essential particularly to emphasize the importance of the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. meeting and the visit to Washington by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee," Andrey Gromyko stated.

The president of Portugal expressed similar thoughts about the need to remove the threat of nuclear war and to solve the problem of nuclear disarmament in the first place.

During an exchange of views on matters concerning European security, an identity of views was revealed to the effect that special responsibility for the state of affairs rests with countries of the continent. This applies to all European countries, both the members of military-political groupings, and neutral states.

Participants in forums at which European security issues are considered should make every effort to prevent an aggravation of the situation in Europe and to encourage develpoment of peaceful contacts between the countries of the continent.

Andrey Gromyko specially pointed out the need to build relations between countries on the basis of realities that had taken shape as a result of World War II.

The president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the president of Portugal agreed that development of economic and trade ties, expansion and enrichment of cultural contacts, and scientific and technical cooperation between European countries were of great importance for each of them, and were also of importance from the viewpoint of improving the general atmosphere in Europe, and not only in Europe.

Andrey Gromyko described the cultural and humanistic traditions of the continent as the universal key to cooperation and trust, the key which helps the Europeans to find a common language in complex situations.

Special attention of the Portuguese side was drawn in this connection to the Soviet Union's proposal to hold a widely representative conference in Moscow on development of humanitarian cooperation.

There was an exchange of views on matters concerning the situation in individual areas of the world, particularly in those where conflict situations have developed, and where blood is being shed.

The attention of the Portuguese side was drawn to the USA's gross interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Nicaragua.

Systematic assistance with weapons, and not only with weapons, to those forces which conduct the war against the Government of independent Nicaragua is well-known. The United States should cease interfering in the internal affairs of the sovereign Central American state. This is being demanded virtually by the whole world.

The Soviet Union positively regards the efforts of the Latin American countries' group which seeks to secure a settlement of the problem by political means, without detriment fo the sovereignty of Nicaragua.

The Portuguese side also expressed interest in an early settlement of the situation in Central America.

When the opinions on the situation in the Near and Middle East were exchanged, the common stand set out by both sides was that an end to the Iran-Iraq war would meet the interests of not only the two countries involved in it but also of universal peace. The known decision of the U.N. Security Council adopted, naturally, with the Soviet Union's participation, offers a good basis for this.

There was an in-depth exchange of opinions on questions of the situation in southern Africa. Considerable areas of mutual understanding and coincidence of views were established in the approaches of the sides. The situation in southern Africa causes much anxiety, Andrey Gromyko said. The forces of racism and apartheid grossly flout elementary norms of human way of life there. Legitimate questions present themselves: "What is to be done? How can this problem be resolved? What is the cause of the intolerable situation?"

One of the obvious causes is, undoubtedly, the inhuman apartheid and racist regime in the Republic of South Africa, stigmatized by all of civilised humanity. Paradoxical as it may seem, the orders cultivated in the Republic of South Africa are not just colonial. They are barbarous and atrocious. Nevertheless, the United States supports that racist regime in every way. The Soviet Union is convinced that questions of internal development of any African country should be decided by the people of that country. The main elements of the settlement of the situation in southern Africa are elimination of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa, an end to Pretoria's aggression against Angola, Mozambique and other Frontline States, granting of independence to Namibia on the basis of the appropriate United Nation resolution, which is not being observed to this day.

The consensus of opinion was expressed that a certain lessening of ties between the two countries of late should be overcome. An important role in this is played by more regular official contacts between the two countries on matters of bilateral relations and on broader problems of the situation in Europe and the whole world.

Both sides noted much importance of development of parliamentary exchanges, ties between public organizations, representatives of science and culture, tourist trips for the prospects of Soviet-Portuguese relations and the situation in Europe as a whole.

Both sides expressed the hope that the current visit of the president of the Portuguese Republic will be promoting the invigoration and improvement of Soviet-Portuguese relations.

The talks proceed in an frank and friendly atmosphere. They will be continued.

Gromyko Speaks at Kremlin Dinner

PM241249 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Nov 87 Second Edition p 4

[Text of Andrey Gromyko's 23 Nov speech at Kremlin dinner in honor of Portugal's President Soares and his wife; TASS report under general heading "In a Friendly Atmosphere"]

[Text] First of all, on behalf of the Soviet leadership, I welcome you, Mr President, in connection with your visit to our country. You and your wife, whom we also welcome, have been to the Soviet Union before. Actually, we have met on more than one occasion, so we are not strangers.

On this occasion you, in your capacity as head of state, will have an opportunity to exchange opinions with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on topical problems relating to the international situation and bilateral relations. An exchange of opinions between us has already begun and, it must be supposed the two sides proceed from the fact that there is no shortage of topics for discussion.

During meetings between the statesmen of different countries, the problem of how to protect the world from a military catastrophe invariably dominates. This is understandable.

It is a cruel truth that the modern world, to put it metaphorically, is now sitting on mountains of nuclear weapons. The threat has arisen which outstanding scientific minds warned us about almost half a century ago, when this threat had not yet appeared through the haze of time in all its magnitude before the look of a dumbfounded mankind. But now every thinking person is aware of the unprcedented terrible danger.

The Soviet Union has been and remains an advocate of the cause of peace among peoples. Lenin's decree on peace proclaimed to the peoples that the Soviet state that arose as a result of the great revolution would pursue a policy of peace. Today, having marked its 70th anniversary, it has declared to everyone that as in the October days of 1917, it is firmly following the same course.

That is why the peoples of the earth received with excitement and gratitude the report by M.S. Gorbachev at the jubilee festive session in the Kremlin, in which the peace policy of the Soviet state at the present stage was expounded with enormous force and cogency.

Today, when the barrier of difficulties has been left behind, the real possibility of concluding a Soviet-U.S. agreement on scrapping medium- and shorter-range missiles has arisen. An accord has been reached on a Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Washington. It has been preceded by Soviet-U.S. meetings in Geneva and Reykjavik, whose great significance is already well-known.

The signing of an agreement on scrapping medium- and shorter-range missiles during the visit of the CPSU Central Committee General Secretary to the United States has yet to take place, out mankind has already breathed a sigh of relief. People have sensed that the two powers are approaching agreement on real disarmament. Two classes of nuclear armaments will be scrapped. The whole world sees that it is possible to move in the direction of the total destruction of nuclear arsenals without causing harm to anyone, and thereby strengthening universal security.

Ahead lies a reduction in strategic offensive armaments, the prevention of an arms race in outer space, and an end to nuclear weapons tests. One may say in advance that this path will not be an easy one, but mutually acceptable solutions are possible. Life reaffirms this, and we will continue to seek them persistently. That, too, is the position of our Warsaw Pact allies.

I would like to take the opportunity to stress today that the Soviet Union also sees a need to liquidate other types of mass destruction weapons and for conclusion of appropriate agreements, just as it sees the need for a reduction in conventional armaments. Our proposals on these questions are on the conference table at various forums.

We would be pleased to hear the weighty word of Portugal in favor of solving questions of disarmament, first and foremost, the liquidation of mass destruction weapons.

"...Science may multiply our knowledge but experience is ever necessary," explained Camoens, the Great Portuguese renaissance poet, who believed in the boundless possibilities of the intellect. Three days ago, I held in my hands three books by the great Portuguese poet which have been published in our country. One was more imposing than the others in its thickness. Centuries have confirmed the truth of the poet's words. Now the time has come when intellect, together with experience, must triumph over recklessness.

I would like in this connection to stress one other thought: Often during a discussion of disarmament problems, particularly those relating to nuclear weapons, individuals in certain countries give the impression that the question of disarmament is a matter for the major powers. It is as though the small countries should do nothing about it.

Of course, not all countries bear the same responsibility for success or failure in this area. However, there is not, nor can there be, one single state, whether it be big or small, whether it belong to a grouping or not, which would stand aside and not take an active and decisive part in working toward disarmament and the liquidation of nuclear weapons.

A good example is being shown by the nonaligned states. Their joint voice means much in international politics. Is not the weight of opinion of the six states well-known? No one can break the scales which weigh, whatever the greatness of the states, the wisdom or, on the contrary, the folly of their position.

The Soviet Union and Portugal have quite a few common concerns—both our countries are, as is said, in the same common European home. When politicians want to stress the importance of Europe they often say: Europe is Europe. This idea is pretty understandable without special decoding. Both history and modern times show that much depends on the situation in Europe, on relations between European states, and on their international policies. This thesis is probably undisputed. The Soviet Union considers that there exists in relations among European states unused potential in the direction of their improvement. We base our policy on this.

In European affairs, there is exclusively important significance in respect for those realities which took shape as a result of World War II and which are enshrined in the appropriate agreements. No one should encroach upon them.

One of the fundamental principles of the Soviet Union's foreign policy is peaceful coexistence of states with different social structure. Adherence of states to this opens up great opportunities for development and improvement of bilateral relations.

We are convinced that all European states have an interest in maintenance and development of economic relations, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation, human contacts, not to mention official relations and contacts, including through parliaments. The Soviet Union is making efforts toward their development. This fully concerns Soviet-Portuguese relations. Here we are counting on reciprocity.

In our time the situation is such that the world—if you take into account the danger awaiting the people, but at the same time the possibility of protecting them from the threat too—has really become interdependent. This global interconnection and integrality, the interdependence of states and peoples obliges people, including the political leadership of all countries, to think in a different way too, and to act in the spirit of the new thinking.

However, people throughout the world are certainly not guided by it. Blood continues to flow in southern Africa, where South African aggression against independent Angola is assuming a more and wider and more open character. The provocative activities of the South African regime stress more strongly than ever the need for a firm rebuff to ensure the security, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the 'Frontline' African states, the need for the swiftest possible just settlement to the problem of Namibia, and destruction of the shameful system of apartheid. Today the demand for collective measures to defend the legitimate rights of the peoples and the common interests of mankind is felt more acutely than before.

We do not doubt that people in Portugal, too, know that the Soviet Union is resolving internal tasks on a tremendous scale. The words "perestroyka" and "glasnost" have already entered the international vocabulary and do not need translating.

But, of course, while doing huge work to restructure the economy, the social sphere of life, the spiritual sphere, and people's very thinking, our people under the leadership of Lenin's party set themselves only peaceful, profoundly humane aims in external affairs. We voice satisfaction with the fact that domestic life in the Soviet state and the resolution of the impressive problems of restructuring meet with understanding and a broad response outside our country.

This year sees the bicentennial of the first Treaty of Friendship and Navigation between Russia and Portugal, which initiated regular relations between us. Our forefathers erected the first bridge of cooperation right across Europe. There are grounds for saying that the new bridge between our countries constructed since the normalization of relations in 1974 must be more solid and that it is worth treating carefully.

I wish to propose a toast to the president of the Portuguese Republic and his wife, to all our Portuguese guests, to the Portuguese people.

May Soviet-Portuguese relations strengthen and develop!

Various Officials Attend Dinner

LD231920 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Nov 87

[Excerpts] Mario Soares, president of the Portuguese Republic, arrived in Moscow today on an official visit at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Also today, a dinner was given at the Great Kremlin Palace on behalf of the the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in honor of the president of the Portuguese Republic and his spouse. Officials accompanying him on his tour of the USSR also attended. Attending from the Soviet side were Comrade Gromyko and spouse, Vorotnikov, Chebrikov, Demichev, Dobrynin, and other officials.[passage omitted]

Begins Talks With Gorbachev

LD240825 Moscow TASS in English 0810 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 24 TASS—A talk between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and President Mario Soares of the Portuguese Republic started in the Kremlin today.

The Portuguese president arrived in the Soviet capital on Monday on an official visit at the invitation of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

'Mini' West Europe SDI Program Viewed

PM231455 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Nov 87 Second Edition p 5

[Yuriy Zhukov "Political Observer's Opinion" under general heading "The Road to Space"]

[Text] The further man penetrates into outer space, the clearer becomes the vital need for international efforts to explore it. Now everyone can see what tremendous opportunities are provided by this exploration for development of science and technology, and how much the work by scientists in space helps in the study of our planet's natural resources, in development of new materials, in medicine, and in many other important areas, especially when it is done jointly, using the resources of many countries.

Everyone remembers the success of the *Soyuz-Apollo* Soviet-U.S. space mission, the successful launch of the *Vega* space laboratory toward Halley's Comet, and the joint space flights by emissaries from different states organized by the USSR with participation by a number of countries. From this viewpoint, there could be interest in developing the activity of the West European Space Agency, which is trying to pool the material and creative resources of several states for the purpose of exploring space.

In my view, this cooperation, were it to be aimed at peaceful exploration of space, would be that much more important for West European states in view of the fact that part of their scientific effort is now being exploited for the sake of the U.S. SDI program.

Of course, the West European community countries, acting within the framework of agreements concluded among them, have to tackle their own financial, economic, scientific, and technical problems. It seems to me, however, that in spite of everything, this substantial fact should in no way raise any barriers in the way of cooperation with countries not belonging to that community.

Why am I raising this question? I was prompted to do so by increasingly frequent reports in the Western press that plans are being hatched there for creation [sozdaniye] of some sort of West European ABM defense system, which would be a kind of mini-"Star Wars" program in Europe. If this is really so, the West European space plans would appear in a completely different light.

Common sense prompts the need for peaceful utilization of space. If broad international cooperation were to be ensured in this sphere, the winner would be all of mankind, and primarily Europe. By the way, on 12 November, the UN General Assembly's Special Political Committee adopted a resolution calling on all states to promote international cooperation in exploration and utilization of space exclusively for peaceful purposes.

Agenda for British CP Congress Described

PM231037 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Nov 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "The Communist Party of Great Britain Congress Has Opened"]

[Excerpt] London, 14 Nov—The jubilee 40th Communist Party of Great Britain [CPGB] Congress began its work today in the municipal center of the London borough of Hammersmith. More than 300 delegates are taking part. The foreign guests attending the congress

include a representative from the CPSU—V.I. Zorkaltsev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Tomsk CPSU Obkom.

The congress delegates will discuss a wide range of questions of British Communists' strategy and tactics in the difficult political situation which has followed the Conservative Party's third consecutive general election victory. As is clear from documents presented for examination by the forum's participants, strengthening the unity of party ranks is one of its central tasks. They will also examine a series of measures to attract new members into the CPGB and outline ways to create a united front of democratic forces with the immediate aim of securing the removal from office of the present Tory government, which represents the interests of big capital.

A substantial place in the debates will be allocated to the questions of war and peace and the British Communists' role in the country's antiwar movement and in disseminating the ideas of detente and disarmament. A statement was handed out to all those present, in which the CPGB leadership cordially congratulated the Soviet people on behalf of all British Communists on the portentous jubilee—the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. [passage omitted].

Zorkaltsev Returns From Britain

PM231459 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Nov 87 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Return To Moscow"]

[Text] V.I. Zorkaltsev, first secretary of Tomsk CPSU Obkom, returned to Moscow from London on 21 November, having attended the 40th Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain as the CPSU representative.

FRG Magazine on U.S. Call for Gulf Support

LD241146 Moscow TASS in English 1110 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Bonn November 24 TASS—Washington continues bringing pressure to bear on its West European partners, above all on the FRG, trying to ensure support for its aggressive actions in the Gulf. Lieutenant General Dale Vesser, chief of the Planning and Policy Department of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, has addressed to Bonn two lists of priority measures for political and military assistance to the United States, the magazine *Der Spiegel* said.

According to Washington's design, the journal said, Bonn should "persuade" the other NATO countries to step up their actions in the Persian Gulf. The USA wishes its allies and some Middle East and African states grant the American troops the right of transmit travel across their territory and use at its will of their military facilities. [sentence as received] As far as the FRG is concerned, its air force is obliged according to the priority measures list to carry out on the Pentagon's instructions reconnaissance flights, and in the event of a "sharpening of the crisis" to transport U.S. military equipment towards the Persian Gulf.

On top of that, *Der Spiegel* notes, Washington expects West German naval ships to replace the U.S. frigates now on their way from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf. The Americans also demand that Bonn should additionally send to the Mediterranean a ship or a number of ships of the Bundesmarine to demonstrate solidarity and support.

As follows from the publication of the magazine, the American priority measures list does not exclude an escalation of fighting in the region and dispatch there of U.S. troops from the FRG. In that case the USA intends to insist on the application of the agreement signed between the two countries in 1982 on giving each other support in periods of crises or wars. According to that, Bonn will have to "mobilize up to 90,000 reservists," who will undertake "the implementation of the tasks of the U.S. servicemen."

The FRG government, *Der Spiegel* says, has so far not reacted to Washington's demands.

French Nuclear Arms Program Assessed

PM231219 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Nov 87 Second Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent V. Bolshakov: "'Nuclear Madonna's' Face Is Losing Its Luster"]

[Text] Paris, November—In France they say that it is simply improper to cast doubt on the judiciousness of official nuclear doctrine or on the expediency of further buildup and improvement of the country's nuclear arsenal. "It's like spitting in the face of the Madonna," one influential businessman here said recently— a crude but quite accurate evaluation of French ruling circles' feelings.

In November, the National Assembly examined the budget for the new fiscal year. As is customary in such cases, the parliamentarians discussed the military budget and at the same time France's military doctrine. Somewhat earlier they had discussed its foreign policy and, in particular, its stance on disarmament. The deputies mounted the rostrum one after another. It was strange to hear sinister terms like "nuclear weapons," "multiple warheads," and "neutron bomb" issuing from their lips with almost religious reverence.

Only the Communist deputies did not prostrate themselves at the nuclear altar but, on the contrary, spoke with anguish of how France has in fact now found itself isolated in the world community because of its obstinate refusal to end the nuclear arms race.

Yet, the well-known French journalist Yves Moreau considers, it would seem that the time has now come for a new search for ways toward disarmament, especially on the eve of the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan with a view to signing the agreement on dismantling medium- and lesser-range nuclear missiles.

It seems that no French official is opposing this meeting. Despite the fact that the French Foreign Ministry statement in connection with the meeting has been compiled with a consideration for the known French position that it is first the strategic arsenals of the USSR and the United States, and only then their medium-range and lesser-range missiles which should be reduced, there is nonetheless one "innovation." In contrast to the former instantly negative reaction to reports on Soviet-U.S. disarmament talks, on this occasion there was no "out of hand" rejection. "Satisfaction" was expressed.

The French Foreign Ministry has obviously considered not only the unfavorable world reaction to Paris' permanent skepticism regarding prospects of nuclear disarmament but also the mounting support in France for the Soviet peace proposals. Some 83% of French people are now in favor of France involving itself in the disarmament process in the most active manner.

Is Paris ready for this? Even during parliamentary debates on France's foreign policy, J.-B. Raimond, head of the French Foreign Ministry, stated that in the face of the Soviet-U.S. talks on arms control it was necessary to strengthen not only French but also European defense. The minister also categorically renounced the "third zero" option, to wit the discussion, within the framework of the conference on security and cooperation in Europe, of the question of reducing conventional and tactical nuclear weapons simultaneously. In his opinion, nuclear weapons should not be discussed at talks on stability in the sphere of conventional armaments, especially since, as he confirmed in conclusion, France retains its loyalty to its nuclear deterrent "doctrine."

Defense Minister A. Giraud began his speech in Parliament where his Foreign Ministry colleague left off. In figures, this loyalty to the nuclear bomb is backed up as follows. In accordance with the law on subsidizing military expenditure for 1988, the program for building the new S-4 missile, which is to go into service in 1995, will be sharply activated. Credit appropriations for it in 1987 totaled Fr58 million, and in 1988 they will leap to Fr558 million. This is a surge of 862%. As a whole, according to press reports, the following appropriations are being made from France's 1988 military budget, which totals over Fr176 billion—nearly Fr50 billion for strategic nuclear weapons and over Fr11 billion for tactical nuclear weapons.

But even that is not enough. It has been announced that Paris and London have joint plans to create a new nuclear missile. Essentially, experts believe, if these plans are implemented, then by early 2000, a new nuclear imbalance may take shape in Europe, in particular as a result of replacing the eliminated U.S. Pershings and cruise missiles with French and British missiles of the relevant classes.

Although officially Paris is not altering its doctrine one iota and its nuclear forces are still viewed, as President F. Mitterrand has frequently stressed, as being intended exclusively for the defense of France and not of any third countries, many French people are becoming increasingly alarmed when they view the apocalyptic face of their country's "nuclear madonna."

The 20th century has taught mankind a lot. Above all, mankind has learned that on our planet, which is stuffed with nuclear weapons as far as the poles themselves, the fewer weapons of this kind there are and the further mankind proceeds along the path of disarmament, then the more security there will be. The forthcoming meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan, the leaders of the French peace movement say, proves that progress on this path is possible. In its statement on this meeting, the peace movement called for "an immediate end to French nuclear tests on Mururoa and suspension of the program to create a French neutron bomb and chemical weapons and other preparations for 'superarmament,' in particular through the creation of the Paris-Bonn axis."

Those people in France who hold peace dear will celebrate 7 December as a holiday. The French peace movement is even organizing a ceremonial reception in Paris for this purpose to which delegations of peace champions from European countries and the United States will be invited.

Yes, the cult of the "nuclear madonna" is becoming increasingly less popular here. Outside Paris' renowned Notre Dame cathedral, I recently observed the following little scene. Young men from the French "zero movement" were standing on the square outside the cathedral by a plaque from which, by tradition, the distance from the center of Paris to all the country's other cities is calculated. They were holding a banner: "It is a short journey from here to the year 2000—just 13 years. We will come to the year 2000 with zero nuclear weapons on earth!"

Murakhovskiy, Delegation Visit Sweden 16-22 Nov

Focus on Agro-Industrial Complexes

PM231553 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Nov 87 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Visit Results"]

[Text] Stockholm, 22 Nov—A Soviet delegation, headed by V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom, was in Sweden 16 through 22 November.

The delegation was received by Swedish Prime Minister I. Carlsson. There were conversations with I. Bengtsson, speaker of the Swedish Riksdag (parliament), H. Stahle, chairman of the Swedish trade council, and other members of that organization.

There were detailed talks with Swedish Agriculture Minister M. Helstrom, during which the sides exchanged information on the state of affairs in the national agro-industrial complexes, analyzed the results of bilateral cooperation in the agriculture and food industry sphere, and examined the main areas for the future deepening and expansion of economic and scientific-technical ties.

The delegation visited a number of farms and food industry enterprises and firms and companies producing machinery and equipment for agro-industrial production, and it also familiarized itself with the work experience of farming cooperatives and agrarian scientific centers.

The Swedish public asked about the restructuring process in the Soviet Union. It was told about the Soviet people's creative work to implement the historic decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and about the renewal processes that are taking place in our society's economic, political, and intellectual life.

The meetings and conversations took place in a spirit of good-neighborliness and mutual understanding and were businesslike and constructive.

At the end of the visit an intergovernmental agreement was signed on Soviet-Swedish cooperation in the sphere of the agro-industrial complex, along with an agreement between the USSR Gosagroprom and the Swedish trade council on cooperation in the development of the "Tosnenskiy" agro-industrial combine in Leningrad Oblast.

Today the Soviet delegation left Stockholm for Moscow. The delegation was seen off at the airport by Swedish Agriculture Minister M. Helstrom and other officials.

Visit Agricultural Enterprises

PM231203 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 20 Nov 87 p 3

[TASS report: "Delegation's Stay"]

[Text] Karlshamn (Sweden), 19 Nov—The south of Sweden is traditionally the country's major agricultural region, where large farms, leading cooperatives and livestock units, and enterprises for production and processing of agricultural products are situated. The Soviet delegation headed by V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom, which is here on a visit, has visited one of them—Karlshamn AB. K. Olund [name as published], the firm's president, described this enterprise's activity in processing oil-bearing crops. Rape seeds are its chief raw material. By introducing highly productive strains and switching to the latest manufacturing processes, the firm has achieved significant successes. The delegation members inspected the firm's shops and chatted with specialists and workers. The sides expressed their mutual interest in developing cooperation between USSR Gosagroprom organizations and the firm of Karlshamn AB.

The Soviet guests also visited one of Sweden's largest stations for artificial insemination of cattle and familiarized themselves with the work of a family dairy farm.

The Soviet delegation is accompanied on the tour by B.D. Pankin, USSR ambassador to Sweden.

Agro-Industrial Accord Signed

LD231256 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Nov 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] A Soviet delegation headed by Comrade Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Agroindustrial Committee, was in Sweden from 16-22 November

[Begin recording] [V. Gubernatorov, not further identified] [passage omitted] Today at the foreign ministry building in Stockholm, an intergovernmental agreement was signed on cooperation in the sphere of the agro-industrial complex as well as an agreement on developing the material and technical base of the Tosninskiy agro combine in Leningrad Oblast with a number of Swedish firms.

[Murakhovskiy] Good preconditions have been created for development of economic, trade, scientific, and technical cooperation, establishment of joint enterprises for processing fruits and vegetables, and setting up of enterprises for manufacturing packaging materials. In a word, great paths for mutual cooperation are opening up. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Political & Social

Zaykov Remarks at Moscow Seminar Reported

PM241201 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Nov 87 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Above All—Concern for People: Seminar of Moscow Party Raykom Secretaries"]

[Text] Ways of restructuring work with the population at their places of residence, the city's preparedness for the winter, the organization of New Year trade, the entire, complex range of questions connected with improving the Muscovites' working, living, and leisure conditions—those were the topics at a seminar of first secretaries of Moscow Party Raykoms held 20-21 November. They discussed not only how to organize educational and mass cultural work in the residential districts, but first and foremost the ways of involving all inhabitants in the imposition of order, the smooth organization of leisure, and true people's control of the activities of municipal, trade, and other services.

Taking part in the seminar were secretaries and section chiefs of Moscow CPSU Gorkom and leaders of Moscow Gorispolkom, the city trade unions' council, and the Komsomol Gorkom.

Opening the seminar, L.N. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, said:

A very crucial and difficult stage of the restructuring has begun—the stage of putting our intentions into practice, fusing our conception with life, and resolving two interconnected and interdependent tasks: the further democratization of society and the implementation of a radical economic reform. Here the most important thing is to involve the broad masses of people in this work. Without them, we cannot restructure anything, because in our country everything is done by the people and for the people's benefit. This gives rise to the conclusions by which we party workers must be guided in practice.

We rightly talk much about increasing the role and expanding the rights of the soviets of people's deputies as regards the socioeconomic development of their territories. But in this context we often make a crucial error by taking the soviets to mean only their ispolkoms. That is fundamentally wrong. In Moscow there are more than 10,000 city and rayon soviet deputies. That is a real potential, a real force. But let us admit frankly that we are uncovering this potential only feebly.

Unless the Muscovites feel a real improvement in matters in the social sphere, it will be hard for us to rouse them to tackle new, even more complex tasks. The cause and results must come first.

Today everyone must give more in their work, devoting the maximum attention to satisfying people's requirements in everyday life and consistently and persistently tackling unresolved questions. There are still plenty of these.

The whole spectrum of social problems, the fulfilling of the people's needs, held an important place, as you know, in M.S. Gorbachev's report at the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum, and is at the center of the party's attention today.

It is no secret that formerly we often failed to devote sufficient attention to this area of work and placed the main emphasis on developing production. But boosting the economy depends above all on people, on their standard of education, culture, and receptiveness toward what is new and advanced.

Concern for Muscovites—that, today, is the front line in our struggle for restructuring in the city. This was also stated at the 11 November party gorkom plenum.

As you know, the party Central Committee and the government have adopted a series of major decisions aimed at developing the city's economy, social sphere, and culture. It is our common task now to ensure that everything planned is put into practice, that the Muscovites sense changes for the better, and that step by step concrete problems are tackled and matters of housing, transportation, and trade are rectified.

It is well known that life itself is the best teacher. When there is order on the streets, a wide choice of goods in the stores, and warmth at home, then people's mood is better and they work better.

Therefore questions of improving housing, municipal, medical, consumer, and trade services are very important party questions. They require the pooling of efforts by city organizations, industrial enterprises, and culture and public education organs, with the most active participation of the working people and the entire population.

The participants in the seminar familiarized themselves with the organization of educational work at places of residence and visited sociocultural facilities in Gagarinskiy Rayon.

Together with a group of participants in the seminar, L.N. Zaykov visited a food store and a branch of the "Moskva" department store, No 21 buildings operation office, a computer games complex for preschool children, the "Zvezda" amateur creative work club, the "Elektronika" economic accountability information center, and the Southwest studio theater.

In lively, frank discussions the Muscovites actively supported the party's line on restructuring, the expansion of glasnost, and constant consideration for public opinion.

Wishes were voiced for a further increase in the responsibility of leaders of party and soviet organs for the full satisfaction of people's urgent needs and the strengthening of discipline and organization. Questions on the uninterrupted supply of fruit, vegetable, meat, and dairy produce and the quality of many types of consumer goods were raised urgently. Examples of bureaucracy, callousness, thriftlessness, and lack of attention to the population's aspirations and deeds were cited.

Answering numerous questions from Muscovites, L.N. Zaykov stressed that you can no longer operate in the old way. All the people must be involved in the restructuring, and the role of workers' control must be strengthened and, basically, revived. It is necessary to involve young people and our veterans more boldly in this matter, and, most importantly, to seek to tackle all questions on the spot. The Muscovites rightly said here that it can hardly be permissible that they have to appeal over the poor quality of bread or the poor range of goods and food products, even when available at the bases, to city or even central organizations. Where, one wonders, is the rayispolkom, with its numerous services, and, of course, the party raykom? Naturally, there are a number of questions which do have to be resolved at Moscow City Soviet or the ministries.

L.N. Zaykov spoke of the great attention that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the Soviet Government devote to Moscow's development and of specific measures being taken to improve all aspects of the city's multifaceted life. The party gorkom, he stressed, will deal strictly with those who are responsible for satisfying the growing needs of the capital's working people. In pursuing this line we will constantly consult with the Muscovites and develop glasnost in resolving all problems of Moscow's socioeconomic development.

Zatvornitskiy on Yeltsin Fall, Democracy
PM231735 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Nov 87 First Edition p 2

[Article by V.A. Zatvornitskiy, leader of a multi-skilled team at the "Mosstroy-1" Trust No 6 Construction Administration, member of the CPSU Central Committee, Hero of Socialist Labor, and RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy, under the rubric "Party Life, Social Problems": "A Hard Lesson"; boldface as published]

[Text] I traveled through Moscow the other day. How the capital has spread! I automatically noted "my" buildings. There is the fine home of the Moscow Soviet. For many people it is as if it has always been there. Not always. After the war, as soon as I had finished at the factory and plant training school, I started there as a lad. There is the "Sovetskaya" hotel. There are Moscow's first 8-story blocks of the fifties and the first 12-story blocks. Strogino, Teplyy Stan—where my team has just been working. We starting counting how much we had built since 1949—over 100 blocks. So the face of modern Moscow has been changed by our hands too. In short, I am happy with my lot, I have managed to do something. But much remains to be done. Today one has a particular hunger for work, a keen interest in all that is being born and growing in life,.

The working people have an ardent faith in the party's restructuring course, in socialist renewal, and they delight at the changes. There is more order in the city and fewer of those negative phenomena in the economy and social sphere of which, I will admit, I, as a human being, am ashamed—indeed much has changed before our very eyes. The democratization processes are promising. The people responded well to the recent soviet elections, carried out in the new way, and the first competitive elections of enterprise leaders. People are more confident and freer in their opinions, assessments, and actions.

But the successes in activities and the new atmosphere are only the beginning. The main work lies ahead. One must not be complacent about what has been done. At the moment, as is known, party organizations are holding meetings and plenums to report on the restructuring process. Every party member must make, in the spirit of Bolshevik frankness, an exacting assessment of his own activity and answer the question: What actual improvements have you made and are you in charge of the renewal process or are you hampering it ? As leader of my collective and a party activist, I also feel a need to sum up, to express my attitude to what is taking place in our lives.

Every morning, at seven, when I go to the site (we are currently building an apartment block on Lenin Komsomol Avenue in Vidnyy), I look with envy at the efficient work rhythm of the builders of housing construction combines Nos 1, 2, and 3. They are working in three shifts without interruptions, they are all part of a unified complex: They build, they make their own panels, joints, roofs—everything they need.

That is a change for the better in work. We do not have that yet. We are having problems with materials. I, the team leader, spend hours on the telephone trying to get materials instead of doing my job on site. The fifth story has to be started, but more than half of the panels have yet to be delivered. You try and try but you get nowhere. That, mind, is with well long-established contacts. What about the others?

It is true that there have been changes for the better at the Moscow Main Housing Construction Administration. Cadres have been overhauled. Petr Sergeyevich Surov, an able, enterprising leader, is now chief of the main administration. He has organized things, but one has still has far to go. It is my belief that the time has come to stop the fragmentation of facilities. Trusts and administrations that have dwindled in size must be amalgamated, the managerial apparatus must be sharply reduced, and links must be established with suppliers of

materials. The chronic shortage of construction components creates discontinuity and that leads to bad workmanship. That is, we do not have the new quality of work that restructuring should have brought.

Our team, as I have already said, is multiskilled. We provide finished housing. We try. But we feel ashamed when we lay poor linoleum, "beautify" the walls with soulless enameled boards, and stick up insipid wallpaper. We are well aware that many people, on moving in, will rip off our wallpaper and boards (swearing as they go) rip up our linoleum and get something they like—something more tasteful and of a better quality. Why are we doing an ugly job and wasting vast amounts of state money? I have put this question to my leaders on several occasions and at party gorkom plenums, and they have agreed with me—they were bound to agree—but I do not see any changes. Experience has shown: This chain of waste of manpower and funds can be broken if one treats the interests of the future residents as the priority. Let us not forget that the problem of housing quality has a considerable effect on the quality and the whole atmosphere of our life.

There are more than 40 people in my team. They live in various parts of Moscow and inevitably reflect many of the city's social problems. From daily conversations one feels that there is still much that does not satisfy us, that Moscow could put more into restructuring and try to achieve quicker changes. Sometimes even the ground that has been gained is being surrendered. For example, there was success in the fight against drunkenness. There was a nicer, cleaner environment. But recently things have deteriorated somewhat. About 2 years ago Moscow trade obviously began to pick up, the first fairs were gratifying. But this year the situation is worse, particular in the case of dairy products. The pre-October fair was an altogether feeble and badly organized affair this time.

There is a great lack of concrete concern for people. We realize that you cannot resolve all the problems at once. Haste never does any good. But sluggishness is also irritating where a result could be achieved today. Back in September we were particularly pleased about handing over a doughnut shop and a cookshop, which we handed over fully equipped with machinery. November is now nearly over, yet they are not even preparing to move into the trading outlets. This both surprises and annoys the workers. So there we are walking past "our doughnut shop" carrying bagged lunches. There are plenty of similar examples. What do they show? They show that there is still a gulf between slogans and deeds, declarations and organizational practice. Although our slogans have become more militant and the declarations more humane.

The strategy of restructuring is clear to us, there is a compass to guide our actions! The CPSU Central Committee examined and approved the prospectus for the comprehensive socioeconomic development of Moscow until the end of this century, and the government adopted a resolution on the comprehensive reconstruction of the capital's historic center. A proposal on eliminating in the next few years the disproportions which have grown up in the city's infrastructure was supported. More housing and facilities for trade, health care, education, and municipal services will be built and transport services will improve. But all this will not happen of its own accord, it will not just drop from the sky. Work is needed—painstaking, persistent, bold work. It depends above all on our energy, on the party cadres, on the situation in the city's party organizations and in Moscow Gorkom. We cannot but be distressed by the hitches there have been in our work through the fault of the gorkom leadership.

Everyone knows about the results of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Plenum. They were received by the Muscovites, by working people, in a businesslike way, with concern, but also with optimism. In some places, however, I have heard idle talk and absurd suggestions and questions. Some people ask questions in perplexity and grief, but some with spite and malicious knowingness. I answer as I myself understood what happened, I tell them what I know for sure, because I took part in the work of the party Central Committee plenum as well as the Moscow Gorkom Plenum.

The know-it-all skeptics assure us that Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin put forward his own detailed concept and took apart and criticized everything we have done, yet the newspapers only gave us a few meager extracts from his self-critical remarks. I testify: The report of the gorkom plenum publishes everything he said, word for word. The other comrades' speeches were indeed printed in abbreviated form—they partly repeated each other's remarks—but his speech is printed in full. It is a fact that it does not look impressive. It was painful to listen to him. He spoke slowly, indistinctly, rather distractedly, and I thought he was very ashamed of himself...

It is impossible, try as you might, to extract any system of views, still less a "concept" or "program," from his remarks. That opinion is shared by all who heard him. Individual phrases about "revolutionary vigor," "ebbs" and "flows," critical remarks—yes, they were present in his comparatively brief speech at the Central Committee plenum. The whole of this speech, with all its propositions, was conveyed frankly to the Muscovites by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. So it is rather hard to define or grasp this special position. It is expressed more in a posture and a phrase than in deeds and intentions.

As for the critical remarks about the Politburo, the Secretariat, and individual comrades, this, as Mikhail Sergeyevich rightly noted, should not be regarded as anything out of the ordinary. Criticism is now a natural thing for us, in the party there should be no zones that are closed to criticism or comrades who are protected from it. Incidentally, even before, Boris Nikolayevich did not hesitate much if he wanted to criticize someone, in fact he honed his phrases sharply. Let us remember

the 27th party congress, his speech was notable precisely for this. Let us remember the Central Committee plenums. Did it cause perplexity? Of course not. Critical interpretation of our life is becoming the norm. I don't think there is any need to prove that. In my opinion the point is not the critical remarks, but the way they were presented. B.N. Yeltsin accompanied his words with a highly meaningful slamming of the door—he announced his resignation. Is that not a maneuver? You can't just drop everything halfway and go off to the sidelines, so many promises were made, people believed them and became enthusiastic, and suddenly there is the capricious gesture, the unpredictable act, as he called it. Responsible people involved in serious work do not do that kind of thing. The rousing speeches of the past are left hanging in the air and do indeed smack of demagogy. A feeling arises that the commander has abandoned his troops in the battlefield. Many people said this, in sorrow, directly to Boris Nikolayevich's face. These feelings made me, too, mount the platform at the Central Committee plenum.

I have heard people say: "They dealt with Yeltsin." Malicious rubbish! He was treated cordially, in a friendly, comradely way, by people whom he had turned away from for no reason. They advised him to think about what he had said and done. They spoke of his personal merits and their esteem for him. I too spoke of my personal esteem for him and my rejection of his ostentatious gesture. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev did his utmost to clarify the matter, in a comradely way: whether Boris Nikolayevich will find in himself the strength to overcome his ambitions, whether he will be able to go on working. No, it turns out, he wanted to take the "unpredictable act" to its conclusion, so that everyone heard the slamming of the door.

If we are talking about what is "democratic" and what is "undemocratic," I would like to say that Boris Nikolayevich behaved in a very unusual way in precisely this respect. I remember the first working plenum of Moscow Gorkom after Yeltsin came. At that time, he said: My door is open, come at any time, we will tackle the problems. I wanted to talk to him—there were indeed many problems—and then they made it clear: The assistant will decide whether you get to talk to him or not. We began to hear talk about his relations with secretaries of raykoms, who spent months "waiting for an audience" or even an opportunity to explain things on the telephone. I gave up trying to "knock at the door." True, if you happen to bump into Boris Nikolayevich, he will smile and say: "I'm indebted to you." He wanted to make a good impression on our brother, the working man. In general he is fond of that kind of nodding acquaintanceship: walking across the shop floor, sitting in the hall with everyone, throwing you the odd word... All this is democratic, of course. But to this day I can't get it clear: Did he really like that kind of show democracy? After all, the essence of party equality is profound, businesslike respect for comradeship.

The party gorkom plenum, where the atmosphere was generally rather heated, painted quite a grim picture regarding cadres. I myself know of many examples of such irritable, spiteful cadre merry-go-rounds. A person is appointed to a post, he is moved somewhere else after 3 months, then moved again after another 3 months. This is surely not the party way or the human way.

Much that was negative had accumulated in Moscow—problems certainly had to be solved, including cadre problems, but this should not have been turned into an unending succession of replacements and a blind shakeup.

Incidentally, people are also asking: Why was it mostly current and former raykom secretaries who addressed the gorkom plenum? That was indeed the way it turned out. Of course I would like to have heard the opinion of representatives of other strata and groups, especially workers. Far more people put their names down to speak in the debate than actually spoke. There were workers among them. That was just the way it was. Many things were paining the party aktiv. Clearly, no one regulated the speakers. Those who could speak and insisted on it did speak. I am prepared to repeat all my arguments. To add something. About my personal and our collective responsibility for the way matters were handled in the party gorkom and for Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's party reputation.

I will be blunt: The gorkom secretaries and bureau members do not appear in the best possible light. At the plenum they made a harsh assessment of Boris Nikolayevich's action. Yet it was they who to some extent had concealed and cultivated undemocratic procedures in our party house, it was they who lacked both the human courage and the party conscience to express in time their disagreement with the style that was fostered. The former and current raykom secretaries only then, from the plenum platform, stated their attitude toward the Moscow Gorkom leadership's methods. That is not the way to act. We must hold ourselves seriously accountable in this regard. And learn the lesson.

Now, as I ponder what happened, I ask myself: Was it an error to promote B.N. Yeltsin to the post of party gorkom first secretary? Really? He had great experience of successful work in Sverdlovsk Oblast and in the Central Committee. To whom should complex sectors be entrusted if not to people such as him! Nevertheless, he lacked some strength. Most likely spiritual strength. And political responsibility. He clearly overestimated himself and his own potential and to some extent certainly overtaxed himself. So those people who are prepared to laud Yeltsin's name to the skies are either totally thoughtless or very cruel. Boris Nikolayevich himself has now reached the conclusion: **"Things are not working out for me"**—he has described the way in which he expressed his intention to quit his post as a **"tactical error"** and has described the the motivation behind his actions as **personal ambition.**

Overall, Boris Nikolayevich is a significant personality. I value his professional and personal abilities and I am sure that he will be one of the masters of our construction strategy.

Mikhail Sergeyevich himself described our Moscow plenum as a difficult lesson. Indeed, and that lesson is not only for leaders—it is for each of us. We are all responsible both for ourselves and for our comrades. The atmosphere prevailing in society and the party since the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum must not be muddied. If some people are not averse to shouting hysterically: "Criticism will be in difficulties now, democracy is in trouble"—let them stop. Criticism has been and will remain a most important party weapon for purification. Democracy will remain the real guarantee of the success of our restructuring. I have no doubt of that.

Reader Hits Leaders 'Strutting Like Peacocks'

PM230859 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Nov 87 Second Edition p 1

[Letter from Moscow reader G. Rukosuyev: "Behind a Wall of Voluntarism"]

[Text] Dear Editorial Board! I have been involved in party political work for a quarter of a century. I have worked as a raykom instructor, have been elected to the raykom, and have done scientific and pedagogical work. I can say that as far as restructuring goes, a great deal depends on our apparatus and leading cadres. By dint of my "ideological" tasks, I frequently have contact with them and I must say that their arrogance often surpasses their knowledge of the job. I have had to break through bureaucratic walls and suffer persecution for criticism.

In my view, the statement in respect of our current situation that democracy has nothing in common with weakness is absolutely correct. Hence what is needed is discipline and exactingness toward everyone: People should be answerable for their support for restructuring—actual, rather than verbal support—and for their ability to promote restructuring, or failure to do so.

I want to ask: Do you know what kills faith in restructuring above all? It is the fact that certain of its opponents "are strutting about like peacocks." They have put a blind wall between themselves and the people and as a result they are compromising the calling of a leader. In my view a leader must have strong willpower, he must be able to control himself and be firm, consistent, and patient. These qualities have nothing in common with voluntarism, or to put it plainly, willfulness. I want to ask therefore: Why are there still instances of this, and what should be done about it?

G. Rukosuyev, Moscow.

More on Yakutsk Gas Pipeline Explosion

PM231501 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent O. Borodin dispatch: "Gas Pipeline Accident"]

[Text] Yakutsk—On 20 November at 0630 hours instruments at the "Yakutgazprom" flow control association recorded a sharp fall in gas pressure. There could only be one reason for this: an accident on the gas pipeline conveying Yakutsk's fuel supply from the Vilyuy field. Any delay in eliminating the consequences of the accident threatened a great calamity: The air temperature has dropped in the last few days in Central Yakutia to minus 47 degrees. Duty teams traveled the entire 400 km of the gas pipeline and helicopters with reconnaissance groups were scrambled.

The city's main gas consumers—the Yakutsk GRES and TETS—were switched to reserve liquid fuel. A coal stock was urgently created at enterprises and boilerhouses.

It emerged that an explosion had ruptured the pipe 160 km from the city. Nearly 4 km of one of the gas pipeline's sections was damaged.

"The danger is now over," E. Tugi, deputy general director of the "Yakutgazprom" Association, told your *Izvestiya* correspondent. "We have closed off the damaged section. The GRES and the TETS are switching back to gas. Repair teams and all the necessary equipment have been sent to the scene of the accident. The cause of the accident is being investigated."

Yet we must not be complacent. This explosion is an alarming warning for the harsh winter ahead. For today along a section of more than 30 km everything is coming along just one pipe. There are unwarranted delays in constructing a backup gas pipeline.

PRAVDA on Making Restructuring a Reality

PM231801 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 87 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "The Main Thing Now Is Action. The Strategy of Restructuring Must Be Translated Into Reality!"]

[Text] The country's working rhythm... How many things does this concept encompass, a concept which is so meaningful to us and which we use so often! We judge it not only by the facts and figures of unionwide significance, as it were, which reflect the results of the work of all collectives, all republics, krays, and oblasts. We probably judge it primarily by the specific results of our own enterprise, farm, or construction site which we can all see; we judge it by what we ourselves have done, by what we personally have contributed. This is correct. Because, ultimately, the labor of individual people, no matter where they work or what posts they occupy, adds

up to the labor effort of the country as a whole and affects the pace of our overall progress toward the aims set by the 27th CPSU Congress.

The party has outlined great and complex tasks in the further development of Soviet society and defined the strategy of restructuring and its concrete objectives, methods, and forms. A new political, moral, and psychological atmosphere has taken shape in the country, people's commitment and activeness have increased, the level of exactingness, criticism, self-criticism, and glasnost has risen, and preconditions for real changes in people's thinking and mood have been created. This is reflected in practical matters, above all in the positive changes which have taken place in the socioeconomic sphere.

"Nonetheless, this is only the beginning," M.S. Gorbachev has said. "We can now claim that we are entering a new stage of restructuring where our entire policy and all our decisions are to be transformed into concrete actions, translated into reality. This calls for a tremendous effort on the part of the whole people—the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and all our cadres. Life itself will test our ideas, plans, approaches, and methods of work."

Indeed, it is our efficiency, our ability to implement the line of the party consistently and firmly without getting carried away by the first successes and without retreating in the face of difficulties, it is our ability to carry it through to its ultimate conclusion which is being put to the test by life itself. The biggest demands are made on Communists who are called upon to set the tone in this effort, and on party organizations which essentially hold the reins of restructuring in their hands. Without a radical galvanization of primary organizations and their initiative and combativeness the outlined aims cannot be achieved. They must spearhead the transformations, they must be able to mobilize and inspire people and strive for a concrete improvement of work in all areas. At the same time it is necessary to learn—and learn successfully!—to look behind the dynamics of facts and figures and see what has been done and is being done to enhance the working people's well-being, to improve their working and living conditions, to intensify their spiritual and cultural life, and to reinforce discipline and order. The success of this cause, the real contribution to the struggle for restructuring—this is the only yardstick for assessing the work of cadres and party organizations. There is no other way.

[An amended version of this editorial carried under the same headline in Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 November 1987 Second Edition on page 1 replaces the two preceding paragraphs as follows:

[Nonetheless, this is only the beginning. We can now claim that we are entering a new stage of restructuring. M.S. Gorbachev noted at the conference at the CPSU Central Committee: "Essentially, we face two interconnected, two interdependant tasks which form the pivot of the second stage of restructuring, namely the further democratization of society and the implementation of a radical economic reform. These are the main, key tasks of the present stage of development."

[Today it is our efficiency, our ability to translate our plans into concrete deeds which are being put to the test by life. Success at the new stage of restructuring will depend entirely on the extent to which party organizations in their practical activity manage to reveal and activate the human factor and its creative potential and to ensure in practice the Communists' vanguard role. They must mobilize and inspire people and strive for the concrete improvement of work in all areas. At the same time it is necessary to learn to look behind the dynamics of facts and figures and see what has been done and what is being done to enhance the working people's well-being, improve their working and living conditions, intensify their spiritual and cultural life, and reinforce discipline and order. The success of this cause, the real contribution to the struggle for restructuring—this is the only yardstick for assessing work.]

The fate of restructuring depends to a decisive degree on the radical changes in the economy, on how consistently and purposefully the tasks in the profound transformation of the economic mechanism and the entire system national economic management are implemented [The 22 November Second Edition version omits "on how consistently" through end of sentence]. The radical economic reform under way in the country pursues the aim of ensuring, within the next 2-3 years, a transition from the excessively centralized, command system of management to a democratic system based primarily on economic methods and the optimum combination of centralism and self-management. The reform is becoming reality, its demands make it necessary to restructure the entire practice of management. A considerable number of labor collectives in various sectors are operating on the basis of self-financing and self-capitalization and as from the beginning of next year enterprises accounting for 60% of industrial output will switch to these conditions. The USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) will come into force.

We must not expect the new system of management to produce results automatically. This is also borne out by the experience gained during the introduction at enterprises of the state acceptance of output and the assimilation of the collective contract and other new forms of labor organization and remuneration. Here too persistent efforts and a great deal of day-to-day work with people at its focus are necessary. It is necessary to organize work so as to enable the individual to manifest his personal abilities more vividly and fully, so as to ensure that every honest, hardworking, and creative person knows with certainty that his work will be duly appreciated. Simultaneously with rewarding, morally and materially rewarding, those who work better and

harder and set an example to others, it is time to adopt a more exacting attitude toward loafers, scroungers, drunkards, bureaucrats, and boorish officials, against all who hamper harmonious work. [The 22 November Second Edition version omits the sentence "Simultaneously with rewarding" through "hamper harmonious work."]

However, has this kind of businesslike, exacting atmosphere been created everywhere now? By no means. This is illustrated by the relatively frequent failure of associated enterprises to meet contract deliveries, the production of substandard output, and instances of the commissioning of construction projects with major flaws. The mania for submitting reports and the tendency to make big promises which are not backed by the gold reserve of actual work have not yet been overcome either. According to *Pravda* readers' reports, restructuring is yet to get off the ground in some collectives where talk about new economic methods takes the place of teaching people in practice how to take charge of production. There is much absenteeism and machine idle time and the transition to work in two or three shifts is progressing too slowly. Little is being done to exploit the achievements of science and technology and there are cases of negligence in the discharge of duties. [The 22 November Second Edition version omits the last sentence "Little is being" through "discharge of duties."] This cannot be tolerated.

Party and trade union organizations and labor collectives must constantly monitor the preparations for work in the new management conditions and skillfully generalize the experience of pacesetters, making it a common asset. It is time to firmly put an end to all manifestations of mismanagement, wastefulness, and indifference to the cause and to mobilize the working people for the unconditional fulfillment of this year's plan targets and for the struggle for high output quality. The progress of restructuring in the economy and in other spheres of society's life can and must be judged only by concrete results.

[At this point the 22 November Second Edition version adds the following sentence "The entire nation is joining the movement for restructuring."] Restructuring has highlighted the further deepening and development of socialist democracy as the paramount task. The party regards this as the most reliable guarantee of the success of the transformations implemented in the political and the economic sphere, one which rules out any backpedaling. Here too work must be placed on a practical footing. After all, it is we ourselves who are called upon to create a reliable and flexible mechanism for the real involvement of all the working people in the solution of state and social affairs; it is we who must teach people to live in conditions of deepening democracy, expand and consolidate human rights, and foster modern political standards among the masses. No new instructions on this account will be forthcoming. It is necessary to find practical solutions to these tasks in every collective, every city, rayon, and oblast. These tasks must be resolved creatively, paying utmost attention to the living experience of the masses and not fearing the difficulties and contradictions which arise in the struggle of the new and progressive with the old and obsolete.

What, for instance, is hampering in some collectives the expansion of glasnost and the effective use in the interests of the cause of elections of economic managers and other forms of self-management? Nothing but adherence to stereotypes, the inertia of thinking, and a campaign-style approach to all innovations. Why do bureaucrats who do not see people for paper and who put personal or departmental interests before the interests of society still retain so much power? It is because party organizations here and there are waiting for the bureaucrats to transform themselves; they fail to take resolute action against them, they are hoping that the superfluous management component will get rid of itself. This can only be described as complacent illusion. It is necessary to continue to develop democratic principles in production, the sociocultural sphere, in the work of soviets of people's deputies, and in trade union and other social organizations. And to develop them in such a way as to ensure above all that they serve the interests of the cause, the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development, and our spiritual growth.

[At this point the 22 November Second Edition version inserts the following additional paragraph: "Here a great deal can be done by the press. It is difficult to overestimate its role. The press is called upon to promote the processes of democratization and to advance the questions of the implementation of the economic reform. It was noted at the CPSU Central Committee conference that so far journalists are doing little to highlight either of these two problems. Just like during the first stage of the restructuring, the news media must be in the forefront, they must help to resolve the new tasks. But the materials they carry must now be more competent, deeper, and more analytical. Readers and viewers now expect from the newspapers, journals, and TV screens serious deliberations, profound thoughts, clashes between different approaches, and the dissemination of everything valuable that has already been accumulated in the practice of restructuring. Ability or inability for work, the willingness or unwillingness to restructure oneself—these are the topics which require constant analysis."]

The campaign-style of work and "playing at" new forms which discredits them in people's eyes are, of course, impermissible [The 22 November Second Edition version omits this opening sentence]. Democracy in our country, in the state of workers and peasants, is inseparable from firm labor discipline and presupposes the concern of each individual for the interests of society—this is another point which *Pravda* readers persistently mention in their letters. Urgently and wisely—this is how conscientious workers who are totally devoted to the cause of restructuring, sparing neither energy, knowledge, or skill, are posing this question.

Working hard and purposefully every day and every hour, and seeking and implementing optimum solutions everywhere and in everything... This is what is meant by making a personal contribution to the implementation of the strategy of restructuring, to the achievement of the goals outlined by the party. May active participation in the common cause of the revolutionary renewal of society become the direct and vital concern of every Soviet citizen, and may the country's working rhythm, the rhythm of creation, be smooth and assured.

'No Alternative' to Restructuring Policy

PM231949 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Nov 87 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "No Alternative to Restructuring. Confidently Following the Course of the Revolutionary Renewal of Society"; material in brackets provides variant version from 24 Nov 87 PRAVDA Second Edition carried on page 1 under the heading "No Alternative to Restructuring"]

[Text] Restructuring has entered our lives as a cause for the entire party and people. It is an urgent and immediate cause that has grown out of the deep-seated processes of the development of our socialist society. Lenin once said that Russia had to "suffer" to achieve Marxism. Now it can be said that the country has truly had to suffer to achieve restructuring.

Thinking back to 2 and 1/2 years ago, when the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum marked a turn toward a new strategic course, we realize that this was the only historically correct option. The party found the strength and courage within itself to soberly assess the situation then prevailing, which was essentially presaging a crisis. On the basis of a principled and comprehensive analysis, the need for cardinal changes and transformations was recognized.

We now have both a theoretical concept and a specific program for restructuring, which are being constantly developed, honed, and enriched by new approaches and ideas. The 27th party congress is over and several Central Committee plenums have been held. At the same time, everyday practical work has been launched to implement plans of restructuring—work which we are naturally calling revolutionary. In terms of its essence, it is indeed revolutionary.

In the report devoted to the 70th anniversary of Great October, M.S. Gorbachev said: "Restructuring does not only mean salvation from the stagnation and conservatism of the preceding period and eradication of errors, but surmounting of historically limited and obsolete features in social organization and work methods. It means giving socialism the most modern forms that correspond with conditions and requirements of the scientific and technical revolution and the intellectual progress of Soviet society. It means a comparatively long process of the revolutionary renewal of society with its own logic and stages."

Today the first, initial stage of restructuring is basically over. The main stage, one could say, lies ahead. But already, life convinces us of the correctness of the route we are taking.

First and foremost, Soviet people feel that a new atmosphere has been created in our society, and it is continuing to improve. The people's activeness is being regenerated, the party is emerging from its state of protracted stagnation, and democratization and glasnost processes are underway. All this is of decisive importance for the country's destiny.

Substantial improvements are taking place in the economy. Major programs to develop machine building and computers and to increase consumer goods production have been drawn up and are being carried out. The practice of state acceptance, which is having a positive impact on the quality of products, has been expanded. The adoption of the Law on the State Enterprise (Association) was an important event. New methods for running the economy and the new economic management mechanism are creating real conditions for improving efficiency of social production.

The party is making greater and greater efforts to resolve urgent social questions. Of course, there are still problems with foodstuffs, but agricultural production has increased. In the first 2 years of the 5-year plan, housing construction rates have increased and additional capital investment has been switched into this area. Some 15% more housing will be commissioned in 1987 than in 1985. The salaries of physicians and teachers, student grants, and pensions are being increased, and higher and secondary schools are being reformed. An additional R6 billion has been allocated for urgent health needs. These are just some of the social measures, which will be continued on a growing scale.

The CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum concluded that the country is entering a new stage of restructuring, during which we will have to overcome considerable difficulties. To this end, it is necessary to step up efforts in all avenues of work. The subsequent progress of restructuring will largely depend on how skillful and vigorous the action taken during these years is.

Party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations and soviet and economic organs must focus on the key problems that determine the fate of restructuring—democratization of social life and the radical economic reform. In restructuring our economic and political system, we are trying to create, first, a reliable and flexible mechanism for really involving all working people in resolving state and social affairs. Second, we must

teach people to live in practice under conditions of deepening democracy and to expand and strengthen people's rights. [PRAVDA Second Edition omits the following paragraph]

We are fundamentally restructuring our economic mechanism. Of course, not everything here has been easy. Not everything is going as it should. As every collective prepares for economic accountability [khozraschet], this question must be constantly monitored by the party.

The current 5-year plan will be highly difficult. The old mechanism still exists while the new is being assimilated. But we cannot wait or delay. Right now, it is important without delay to implement everywhere exhaustive measures aimed at fulfilling contractual shipments and the plans to improve labor productivity and output quality, for this is a decisive prerequisite for successful completion of the 12th 5-Year Plan and for stable work under new economic management conditions. [PRAVDA Second Edition reads: "everywhere exhaustive measures and purposeful changes, expose existing shortcomings and omissions, outline how to put restructuring into top gear, and give scope to Communists' initiative. (new paragraph) The success of"] Of course, we must make every effort to give a good send-off to this year.

The success of restructuring in all avenues depends on the vigor, purposefulness, and strength of example of party organizations and all Communists. The interests of the cause of renewal demand that we resolutely put a stop to political and organizational sluggishness and to the lack of initiative shown by a number of party committees and their leaders. The paramount task is to strive for a fundamental breakthrough in the work of all Communists and all leading cadres.

Special stress must be laid on improving the activeness of primary party organizations, where all strands of restructuring come together. This should be promoted by preparations for the 19th All-Union Party Conference. An important stage on the way to the conference is the holding of party committee plenums and meetings of Communists to discuss reports from elective organs on the work to lead restructuring. We will have to exactingly assess real improvements in the economic, social, and spiritual spheres, reveal existing shortcomings and failings, and plan how to work harder, how to get restructuring into top gear, how to overcome inertia and routine, and how to provide more scope for Communists' initiatives.

Under the conditions of the launch in the country of the complex new processes generated by restructuring, it is extremely important to show revolutionary staunchness, not to give up in the face of difficulties, and to find the best possible solutions for the tasks set by life. Intensive and creative work that has a real and tangible effect is the aim of the party, each party organization, and all Communists, and is the main criterion for their activity and participation in restructuring. [PRAVDA Second Edition reads: "main criterion for assessing their participation in restructuring."]

We must learn to identify and neutralize maneuvers of those who are deliberately slowing things down, taking a malicious delight in difficulties and failures, and through their actions—or inaction—objectively dragging the party and the country back into the past. We must learn to overcome such bastions of conservatism as ingrained lack of initiative and supplanting of real work with bureaucratic dodges.

But it is equally impermissible to submit to pressure from those unable or unwilling to cope with the objective logic of restructuring or who would like to artificially encourage transformations, force their pace, and gain an excuse for reports about "successes" at all costs. The consequences of such approaches and methods in the past are well known. Any forcing of the pace or omission of stages will objectively lead to expansion and strengthening of administrative-edict methods of management—which is one of the most important causes of the stagnation phenomena in the economy and society. [PRAVDA Second Edition reads: "...the stagnation phenomena.]

Our restructuring is of immense international importance. It is based on new political thinking not only for the country but for the entire world. It serves to eradicate the military threat and resolve the most fundamental human problems. From suspicion and enmity to trust, from the "balance of terror" to a balance of reason and goodwill, from narrow national egoism to cooperation—that is our call and that is the aim of our peace initiatives.

Yes, there is no other way save that we have chosen. There is no alternative to the restructuring policy, which opens up new historic prospects. We are prepared to work unstintingly for the sake of those prospects and for the sake of our noble goals.

Vlasov Interviewed on Anti-Alcohol Steps

PM201345 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Nov 87 Second Edition pp 3, 6

[Interview with A.V. Vlasov, minister of Internal Affairs, by unnamed PRAVDA correspondents: "War On Alcohol: USSR Minister of Internal Affairs Answers Readers' Questions"—first paragraph is editorial introduction; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] It is more than 2 years since the anti-alcohol legislation was passed. In letters to the editorial office readers note that positive changes are to be seen. At the same time, concern is being expressed that in some places the struggle against drunkenness has developed into yet another short-term campaign. This is the theme, for example, taken up by S. Kurkova from Sovetsk in

Kaliningrad Oblast and I. Pasynkova from Salavat in the Bashkir ASSR. The trenchant point is also being made that militia organs sometimes do not take a firm stand in the anti-alcohol struggle. *Pravda* correspondents showed these and other letters to USSR Internal Affairs Minister A.V. Vlasov, and asked him to reply to our readers.

[Vlasov] Two years is not long enough to eradicate ingrained habits. Nevertheless, improvements have been observed in the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism. The general statistics are as follows: In 1984 some 14,180 million liters of wine and vodka were produced whereas last year production was 8,130 million liters, almost one-half. Per capita consumption in terms of pure alcohol fell from 8.4 liters to 4.4 liters. Is that a little or a lot? Whichever way you look at it, we are still a long way from the ideal—the sober life. Nor should we forget moonshining.

But the reduction is undoubtedly sharp and it has brought about a whole series of beneficial changes in society. I should like to stress in particular that according to the Ministry of Health's figures the death rate among the population has fallen for the first time in the past 20 years. There has also been a noticeable decline in the rate of drink-related crime, which previously rose year by year. In comparison with 1984, for instance, road accidents caused by drunken drivers fell 37%.

All this gives grounds for looking to the future with optimism. But *Pravda*'s readers are correct: Drunkenness is under attack, but it is not giving ground. In Lithuania, Kirghizia, the Ukraine, the Kalmyk ASSR, and Perm, Astrakhan, Tambov, Volgograd, and Ryazan Oblasts this year a considerable increase has been observed in the the number of drink-related crimes. More than two-thirds of serious crimes are still committed in apartments and hostels by people in a state of intoxication.

A major campaign has been mounted against drunkenness in production and in public places. But it has infiltrated the family and domestic sphere and become less accessible to social and administrative control. The use of apartments as drinking dens has appeared. More than 20,000 such dens have been discovered in cities and villages. This considerably complicates the struggle against the most persistent evildoers. There are a good many of them: There are more than 4.5 million alcoholics registered with health care organs and the militia. Of that number around 1 million need compulsory treatment.

[Question] Why are we still so liberal toward alcoholics? asks reader D. Shushorin.

[Vlasov] It must be admitted self-critically that in a number of places the internal affairs organs have slackened the struggle against drunkenness. Drunks have again begun appearing on city streets and in other public places. In some places the cause has been hindered by liberalism and irresponsibility. The USSR MVD collegium has taken a severe view of connivance in the work of eliminating drunkenness and moonshining. A number of organizational and operational-official measures have had to be taken and the culprits punished. There is not a single service in the MVD now which has not taken part in the work of eliminating drunkenness and alcoholism. This year 259,000 people have been reprimanded for drunkenness at work alone. But the militia cannot solve everything by itself. The joint efforts of the law enforcement organs, the public, and labor collectives are needed here.

As for the main threat to the anti-alcohol policy, that is undoubtedly moonshining and the dangerous outbreak of the raw vodka epidemic. In the first 10 months of this year, criminal and administrative proceedings were instituted against five times more illicit producers than in 1985. Moonshining is particularly widespread in the Ukraine, Belorussia, and a considerable part of the RSFSR.

Moonshining is increasingly penetrating cities and settlements and different sections of the population—including the intelligentsia and employees. Quite recently some homemade equipment blew up in the apartment of Association Chief Shashkin of the RSFSR Ministry of Light Industry.

In the past 2 years more than 1 million sets of equipment have been confiscated and 4 million liters of moonshine have been destroyed.

[Question] Moonshining wastes valuable food products, particularly sugar. The editorial office has been inundated with a flood of letters about the resultant disruptions in the trade of sugar...

[Vlasov] In the past 2 years the sale of sugar has increased by 1.5 million tonnes. People have also been given more than 0.5 million tonnes as payment in kind. Whereas before the rise in prices for spirits the sugar obtained was actively sold to the consumers' cooperatives, now, unfortunately, it is often used for moonshine.

Sugar thefts are high, too. In the past 2 years criminal proceedings have been instituted in around 1,600 cases involving sugar. For example, a gang of criminals stole 50 tonnes at the Vyshe-Olchadayevskiy sugar refinery in Vinnitsa Oblast. More than 3,500 pilferers have been arrested by extradepartmental security workers alone this year. The number of thefts of this kind has increased at enterprises in Krasnodar Kray and Kursk and Penza Oblasts. The number of yeast thefts has almost doubled.

[Question] Reader K. Lozhechnikov writes: You get the impression that the war on moonshiners is like trench warfare, not an offensive war...

[Vlasov] Of course in some places it is a case of trench warfare. But in general the militia organs are geared up for the most offensive actions possible. In this year alone, proceedings have been instituted against 390,000 people for violations related to moonshining and more than 100,000 of them have been convicted. If they are arrested a second time the severity of this punishment is increased and no one should count on a light sentence.

[Question] But do we always make full use of the strength of the law? The existing criminal law of all union republics provides for the possibility of the confiscation of property belonging to people engaging in moonshining for the purposes of sale and the confiscation of the equipment used for its production. However, this punishment is used extremely rarely.

[Vlasov] Indeed, for the manufacture of moonshine for sale the confiscation of property was applied in 26% of cases in 1986 and in only 16% in the first half of 1987...

This omission has been pointed out to the law enforcement organs. The necessary measures are now being taken to increase responsibility. Culprits must pay both with their liberty and their property. Babinets, from Chernigov, a crane operator at the oblast agrostroy, was recently sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment with confiscation of property for producing and selling alcohol and for speculation in spirits. The property included his Zhiguli, a garage, jewelry, and bank deposits totalling R43,000.

But the existing law must be applied comprehensively—by all law enforcement organs.

It is also undoubtedly necessary to mobilize the public to expose illicit alcohol producers. At the moment only one person in 25 is exposed with the public's help... The task is to mount a broad civilian front against moonshining.

The invulnerability of leaders and their resultant indifference and carelessness often provide another dangerous outlet—the theft of alcohol. This year 7,000 such crimes have been brought to light. Furthermore, one-third were committed at Gosagroprom facilities. Thieves exploit defects in the norms for the expenditure of alcohol and losses occurring during bottling and transport. At the Volgograd vodka liqueur plant, for example, a group of criminals had a plan to steal "surplus" output worth R1 million.

Without trying to lift the blame from the internal affairs organs, who have been lax in their efforts to seal off the channels for the theft of spirits, I should also like to say that some leaders and the public organizations of such enterprises do not even use the most basic form of protection against theft. Many premises belonging to plants producing alcohol and vodka liqueur are not equipped with alarms and some premises are not fenced off.

[Question] It is the case, is it not, that militia staffers have to deal with the direct results of slipshod work and negligence...

[Vlasov] Indeed it is. In Azerbaijan, for example, wine-production materials worth vast sums have been stockpiled but their safekeeping is not ensured. In August, a "water truck" driver named Gadhziyev freely pumped 4 tonnes of alcohol into the truck's tank and spent a few days in Baku looking for wholesale buyers.

In our view, the time has come to review and strengthen the rules governing the use of alcohol. Wholesale prices should be raised. There must be a firm procedure and a system for the transport of wine- and vodka-producing materials. For example, when transporting alcohol by rail, Zagornyak and Nikonov, guards working for the Moldavian SSR's Rybnitsa winery, spent the whole journey making wine out of stolen alcohol and sold 895 bottles. Since the beginning of the year, 300 "escorts" of this kind who have stolen 20,000 liters of liquor have been exposed.

[Question] Speculators exploit the gaps in the organization of the alcohol trade to make large profits. We receive very many letters on this theme...

[Vlasov] This year, over 26,000 speculators have been brought to account—more than double the 1985 figure. It is a dangerous temptation which lures some trade, public catering, and hotel workers, railway station staff and guards, and taxi drivers into this antisocial sphere.

The Vladivostok militia arrested Kozhevnikov, a watchman at the Korall restaurant, who hoarded vodka and resold it at R35-R40 a bottle in his place of work before the management's eyes. The criminal's money and valuables worth R20,000 were confiscated and his Zhiguli was impounded.

[Question] But speculators get away a small fright. *Pravda* has written about A. Koksharova, senior sales assistant at a Chelyabinsk wine store, who speculated in wine and vodka products on a particularly large scale. The alarm signal was confirmed. Proceedings were instituted. During a search of her house 31 cases containing 62 brands of wine and vodka were discovered in her garage. A report was sent to the court but was soon returned for further investigation because Koksharova had stated that she was an alcohol collector, and after that the case was dropped completely. Readers Chuguyeva, Zemtsova, Gorbunova, and Dominina are rightly indignant at this turn of events...

[Vlasov] On the instructions of the RSFSR Prosecutor's Office, the investigation of this case has reopened. But even now, unfortunately, trade workers are a rich source for speculative deals. In 2 years 62,000 sales assistants have been punished for these actions. Even though the

state trade inspectorate conducts far more checks than the militia, it discovers... only one-sixth the number of violations of the regulations governing the sale of alcohol.

[Question] We receive a great number of letters stating that the queues in wine stores are not only an obnoxious sight but also represent a "risk zone" for violations of the law...

[Vlasov] Your readers are right. We have already punished several thousand citizens for petty hooliganism in queues. There is reason to believe that queues are often created artificially. It is not that the number of "outlets" has been reduced—it is just that the trade process is very badly organized. That plays into the speculators' hands. Of course, there is no question of increasing the "wine stocks." But it is surely expedient to review the organization of trade during peak hours and make it more sensible.

[Question] Some cafes, including cooperative ones, are also showing an unhealthy interest in the sale of liquor.

[Vlasov] Yes, warning signals of that kind have been received. A cafe in Nikolayev city, for example, sold moonshine at R2 a glass. The "Aist" cooperative cafe in Balashikh has been selling vodka.

[Question] Our readers are particularly worried about young people. Often their concern is for quite young children...

[Vlasov] It is a fundamental fact that the USSR MVD is among the founders of the USSR Children's Foundation. One of that foundation's tasks is to bring up a healthy generation of people, one which believes in sobriety. Yes, vocational and technical colleges are a danger area. But it is the case that 25% of adolescents found drunk were working at enterprises at the time. Serious food for thought! Even though an analysis shows that a significant proportion of adolescents began drinking liquor under the family's influence and drank for the first time in the home, it hurts to think that often labor collectives view this problem with indifference. Yet all those who are called on to educate the rising generation should set a good personal example in the uncompromising struggle against alcohol. Both the worker-mentor and the teacher. Yet the clients of the sobering up stations in Chita include five directors of schools and vocational and technical colleges who were attending a seminar on the exchange of progressive experience. In Andizhan, 62 teachers have been arrested for drunken drivng. This is a grave educational anomaly.

[Question] What measures do you personally consider the most effective today against regular drinkers?

[Vlasov] In my view it is necessary to intensively expand the network of out-patient, in-patient, and economically accountable treatment. And anonymous treatment, where requested. In other words, I favor all possible voluntary forms of treatment. These are the most effective methods of aid and everyone in need of it has the right to expect prompt help. In principle, compulsory in-patient forms of treatment are not ruled out, either. But they are appropriate primarily at enterprises, to ensure that a person's experience and skills do not go to waste and that he feels needed. Therapeutic treatment centers should be restricted solely to chronic alcoholics who have already been treated unsuccessfully and who break the law.

[Question] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, so far we have spoken only about the negative phenomena. However, there is positive experience in the anti-alcohol struggle, too...

[Vlasov] There is. The experience of work at the Rossiya Kolkhoz in Voronezh Oblast is instructive. The collective there put its demands individually to each person who had abused alcohol, appointed chiefs, and monitored the forms of treatment. There are virtually no "drink-related" crimes on the lands belonging to the kolkhoz's villages and no instances of drunkenness during sowing and harvesting campaigns. There are many people anxious to join this kolkhoz and people are drawn to order and organization.

Much work is being done to establish a sober way of life at the Yu.V. Andropov metallurgical combine in Novolipetsk. The combine has a 125-bed addiction department, an addiction office, and 16 medical assistants. The atmosphere in the collective is such that virtually no one avoids these measures. But unfortunately that is not the case everywhere. Furthermore, there have been cases which run counter to our struggle for a sober life. For instance, the number of public order protection centers has fallen by more than 5,000 in the past 2 years. What element has been weakened by that action? First and foremost, the sphere of the struggle for a sober life. Unfortunately, people can often criticize divisional inspectors for inertia. They sit securely in the police station surrounded by paperwork. Sometimes they show favor to drunkards or protect home brew producers in return for a bribe. Those guilty of this have been severely punished and condemned.

The results achieved by the society for the struggle for sobriety have been insignificant to date. There is much that is stereotyped and formal about its work.

[Question] Unfortunately, a stereotyped approach is beginning to appear in work to improve the law, too. Yet life throws up new, often unexpected aspects of the problem...

[Vlasov] Undoubtedly thought should be given to new approaches to the use of some sanctions provided by the anti-alcohol laws. Take fines, for instance. More than one-half of offenders are fined nowadays. But one in five do not pay. Surely it would be right if the fine for

violations of the alcohol law were paid in the form of work on days off and holidays and in the form of compulsory work for those with no job. That will intensify the preventive force of the law and have a positive effect on the budget of the families of drunkards where the first to suffer are the children...

Can it be right that the illicit alcohol producer, unlike the ordinary drunkard, is in a more "advantageous" position than the latter because not only are administrative measures not applied to him but coercive measures such as the loss of bonuses, rewards for the enterprise's yearly work results, and preferential passes and demotion in the housing waiting list cannot be used against him. Such measures should also be used against the illicit alcohol producer and the alcohol speculator alike. The liability of officials for connivance in the production of moonshine equipment at the production unit is extremely low.

Yes, we have no right to stand still. The work ahead will be quite long and difficult. For that reason the struggle against drunkenness requires not just a tough line but also to some extent bold creative approaches. The militia is merely a legal mechanism in the people's hands. The best solutions can only really be worked out together. By everyone.

More on Republic Supreme Soviet Sessions

PM201431 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Nov 87 Second Edition p 3

[TASS reports under general heading "Energy of Designs Must be Channeled Into Energy of Actions"]

[Text] Topical questions concerning the restructuring of economic activity and the social sphere are currently being examined by the people's elected representatives. Problems of acceleration, ways to eliminate shortcomings, and long-term tasks are the focus of attention of participants in the sessions of republican supreme soviets.

Kiev, 13 Nov (TASS)—The republic's implementation of the party's strategic course of accelerating Soviet society's development was the topic of today's session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet. The deputies discussed and approved the republic's state plan and budget for 1988.

It was noted that the Ukraine's working people have achieved certain positive developments in all spheres of economic and social life. At the same time, many enterprises and associations breach contractual commitments for output deliveries. The range and quality of light industrial goods are improving only slowly, and the development of consumer services for the population is lagging behind the planned rates. There has been no success in achieving the necessary breakthrough in the construction complex' work.

The speakers said that the new structure of the state plan ensures a combination of the interests of every worker, collective, and the society. The transition of approximately one-third of enterprises and associations to full economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet] and self-financing from 1 January 1988 will ensure the enhancement of the creative initiative of working people in the republic.

The question of progress in the implementation of organizational measures by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to fulfill the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 27th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress was also examined. Decrees by the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium were ratified.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the session's work.

Baku, 13 Nov (TASS)— The State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the Azerbaijan SSR in 1988, adopted oday by a session of the republic's Supreme Soviet, is aimed at steadily increasing the prosperity of the republic's population.

Almost four-fifths of national income will be channeled toward the development of the social sphere's material base and the satisfaction of people's urgent requirements during the 3d year of the 12th 5-Year Plan period. There will be a sizeable growth of the population's real per capita incomes. Following proposals by the permanent commissions, there has been a significant increase of expenditure on the maintenance and development of social and cultural institutions and the provision of amenities in cities and rayon centers.

The deputies approved the state budget for next year and examined the progress in this year's plan fulfillment and the implementation of the 1986 budget.

K.M. Bagirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, is taking part in the session's work.

The session is continuing its work.

Kishinev, 13 Nov (TASS)—For the first time in the republic's entire history, the whole growth in the output of industrial and agricultural products, of the volume of construction and installation works, and of production services has resulted from increased labor productivity with a decline in the number of people employed and a reduction in the materials- and energy-intensiveness of production. This fact was declared at the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet session which opened today. The deputies are discussing next year's state plan for economic

and social development, progress in the fulfillment of this year's state plan, the republic's state budget for 1988 and the implementation of last year's budget, and other questions.

The session continues. S.K. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, is taking part in its work.

Tallinn, 13 Nov (TASS)—A decisive transition to qualitative factors of development—this is one of the specific features of Estonia's economic and social development next year. Moreover, the entire growth of gross social product ought to result from increased labor productivity. This was laid down by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session which opened today, adopting the state plan for economic and social development and the republic's state budget for 1988. Progress in the fulfillment of the plan for the 2d year of the 12th 5-Year Plan period and the implementation of last year's budget was also examined.

The session is continuing. K.G. Vayno, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, is taking part in its work.

Zotov Muses on Nature of Soviet State

PM201527 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Nov 87 Second Edition p 3

[Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V. Zotov article under the rubric "Questions of Theory": "October and the Socialist State"—boldface as published]

[Text] The Soviet state, born out of the Great October Socialist Revolution, has celebrated its 70th jubilee anniversary. Despite the contradictory nature and the numerous different paths of civilization's ongoing advance, the October Revolution was a law-governed result of the development of ideas and the practice of the centuries-long struggle waged by working people for freedom and peace, for social justice, for their own state, and against class, national, and spiritual oppression.

The USSR is a young state without parallel in history. It is the state of trailblazers, and the path of trailblazers has always been hard. "We experienced everything—both the heroic and the tragic, both great victories and bitter failures," M.S. Gorbachev remarked in the report "October and Restructuring: The Revolution Goes On." "We reflect on 70 years of intense building from the positions of a people prepared to mobilize all its energy and the entire tremendous potential of socialism for the revolutionary transformation of life."

1.

Soviet socialist statehood traversed a complex and difficult path in its origin and development. V.I. Lenin noted that the mechanism of proletarian state power evolved from tiny, illegal, and underground study circles over a 25-year period (see V.I. Lenin: *Complete Collected Works*, Vol 41, p 32). The February bourgeois-democratic revolution, having overthrown tsarism, produced in Russia an historically rare and antagonistically contradictory situation within the state—duality of power taking the form of the Provisional Government as the organ of the bourgeoisie and of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies as organs of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.

The great service rendered by the October Revolution consisted of the fact that it destroyed the exploitative domination by the bourgeoisie and the land owners in Russia and established a fundamentally new state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, expressing and defending the interests of the working class, the working peasantry, and all working people, in other words the overwhelming majority of the population, a state that was new in form (a republic of soviets which were arrived at as a result of the revolutionary creativity of the masses themselves), a state that was new in terms of its purpose and tasks (the building of socialism and communism as the most fair society, a society in the interests of each and every one, a humanitarian and comprehensively developed society). Lenin assessed the birth of the Soviet state as a gigantic step forward in the wake of 1793 and 1871 (see Vol 44, p 102), which gave the world a bourgeois state in France and the proletarian Paris Commune respectively, and linked it with the beginning of a new epoch in mankind's history.

But, to the extent that socialism originates from capitalism, it is to that same extent that the new state reveals certain features which betray external similarities with a state of the old type. It is well-known that Lenin, in his work "State and Revolution," refers to Marx's idea that socialism cannot yet fully overcome "the narrow horizon of **bourgeois** law" and draws what he himself described as a paradoxical conclusion about the preservation of the "bourgeois" state in the conditions of the first phase of the communist formation (see Vol 33, pp 98-99). Lenin explained how Marx's idea is to be interpreted. But how is Lenin's own proposition about the "bourgeois" state under socialism to be interpreted? It must be admitted that, until very recently, social scientists avoided all interpretations of and comments on this statement.

First of all, it must be noticed that, while speaking of this "bourgeois" state, Lenin emphasizes: "Without the bourgeoisie!" (Vol 33, p 99). Without the bourgeoisie, but not without the "traditions" and "traces" of bourgeois statehood in the new state's activity. Why and whence do they appear, and who are the vehicles of these?

The demolition of the bourgeois state and the creation of a socialist state to replace it is not an action that occurs overnight but a more or less lengthy process. V. Mayakovskiy was rather hasty in proclaiming that only "Ira" cigarettes are left from the old world. If only that had

been so. The contradiction in the development of Soviet statehood during the twenties lay in the fact that, having concentrated in their hands the totality of state power (having deprived the representatives of the exploiting classes of voting rights), the working class and the entire working people found that over a certain period of time they were unable to run the state without recruiting former civil servants and specialists. This introduced elements of old bureaucratism in the Soviet state's activity.

In materials dictated in late 1922 and early 1923, Lenin persistently pursued the idea that the apparatus of Soviet people's commissariats was "wretched," that it was "inherited from the old regime," in other words from "the tsar and the bourgeoisie," and that at best it was "only thinly tarred with the Soviet brush." The sole exception Lenin made was in respect to the diplomatic apparatus, which had been blocked for old officials who had held positions of even the slightest influence and was basically made up of Communists (see Vol 45, pp 347, 357, 361). Examining this contradiction, Lenin said that the main point was the "domination of the working class in the constitution and in ownership, as well as the fact that it is we who are the driving force of affairs; management is a different matter, it is a matter of skill, a matter of knack" (Vol 40, p 222). He ardently called on the working class to learn to manage the state.

A relatively brief period of time passed, and the old regime officialdom was replaced by cadres from among the workers, working peasants, and people's intelligentsia. Of course, the danger of bureaucratic distortions in the proletarian state may stem not only from old cadres (which is generally understandable and even natural), but, in certain conditions, also from new cadres who are equally as capable as the old ones of transforming state tasks into departmental ones and departmental tasks into state ones, thus promoting their careers. Was this not why Lenin, in the "Letter to the Congress," suggesting that the number of Central Committee members be increased to 50-100 with additional workers and peasants, expressed and upheld the opinion that they ought to be not mainly from among those who have long records of Soviet service and who "have already acquired certain traditions and certain prejudices," but from among those who are closer to the rank and file workers and peasants and are therefore capable of "imparting stability to the Central Committee itself" and of "effectively working on the renewal and improvement of the apparatus?"

"The period after Lenin—the twenties and thirties—occupies a particular position in the Soviet state's history," M.S. Gorbachev remarked. "Fundamental social changes took place in a matter of some 15 years." These were years of dogged labor and multifaceted struggle. Industrialization, collectivization, cultural revolution, and consolidation of the socialist multinational state—all these happened during that period. And all this had far-reaching historical consequences.

2.

V.I. Lenin approached the question of socialist statehood from the position of dialectical method, which is the sole scientific method. He had no doubts that "the 'transition stages' of **the revolution** will be followed by the 'transition stages' of the gradual withering of the proletarian state" (Vol 37, p 336).

The USSR's experience shows that the dictatorship of the proletariat, having fulfilled its historical mission of ensuring the victory of socialism, evolved into political power by all working people, and the proletarian state into a state of the whole people. This important theoretical conclusion, first drawn by the CPSU in the very early sixties, is confirmed in the new edition of the Party Program.

It has to be admitted, however, that the CPSU's conclusion about the Soviet state's nature as the state of the whole people was, for a long time, interpreted in a highly abstract manner and in detachment from the contradictions of real life. The "state of the whole people" seemed to do away with contradictions within the state and society and to overshadow and push into the background the entire complex set of interests—by no means coinciding always and in everything—of those who make up the people: individuals, collectives, professional groups, social strata, classes, nations, and nationalities.

Meanwhile, the actual vital activity of the state of the whole people, especially in the seventies and early eighties, was taking place in conditions which produced an entire system of weakening the economic instruments of power and shaped a kind of mechanism which applied the brakes on socioeconomic development and held back progressive transformations which would have made it possible to reveal and utilize the advantages of socialism. It would be incorrect to imagine that the braking mechanism developed somehow apart from the state and the political system as a whole. This process of applying the brakes was rooted in serious shortcomings in the functioning of the institutions of socialist democracy and in the conservative management mechanism.

The management apparatus which proliferated inordinately (18 million persons, including 15 million at the basic level—in enterprises and at construction sites), which performed the function of the state's economic management and organizational activity, and which was inclined toward administrative decree forms and methods of work, could not avoid the trend toward bureaucratization. The more the mechanism applying the brakes on the country's socioeconomic development made itself felt, the more bureaucratism grew. And vice versa.

The CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum declared: It is impossible to go on like this. It promoted the bold idea of revolutionary restructuring of society

and the state. The 27th party congress and the CPSU Central Committee January and June (1987) Plenums expanded this idea into an integrated concept which is now being implemented.

Now we are at a critical stage of restructuring. There is no more time left for false starts. From the first day of the new year, 60% of our economy will transfer to the principles of full economic accountability [khozraschet]. The contradiction between the demands for renewal, creativity, and constructive initiative on the one hand and conservatism, inertia, and selfish interests on the other hand, a contradiction that has appeared in the forefront, is now approaching its climax.

The further democratization of socialism is a decisive condition for getting rid of bureaucratism and for success in all restructuring. It can be said as follows: The acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development and the achievement of new standards of economic growth are impossible without new standards of socialist democracy. The slogan of restructuring—"More Democracy, More Socialism!"—is not based on the premise that previously we did not have "this kind of" democracy or "this kind of" socialism, but on the fact that the more democracy we have, the more socialism we will have.

Glasnost and openness are the new qualities of socialist democracy and the running of state affairs. Take for example an acute question of restructuring, which affects the whole of society and every single family—the question of reforming wholesale, purchasing, and retail prices. Now it is the subject of broad discussion. Glasnost has also spread to the entire work of the organs of legislative and executive power, the organs of economic and cultural management, the law enforcement organs, in other words to all components of the state. The previously existing so-called "zones beyond the scope of criticism" are now open to nationwide discussion and, if necessary, to criticism. The state is stronger through glasnost and openness.

New realities emerge in our sociopolitical life now: New forms of elections to local organs of power were tried for the first time in June; electability of leaders of economic enterprises, scientific institutions, and teaching establishments is spreading widely; and the question of electing party committee secretaries, including first secretaries, from party raykom level to the level of party kraykoms and union republic Communist Party Central Committees, by secret ballot at plenums of the corresponding committees, has been raised. New public organizations are being created. The USSR Supreme Soviet passed the Laws on Nationwide Discussion of Important Questions of State Life and on the Procedure of Appeal to the Courts Against Illegal Actions by Officials Encroaching on Citizens' Rights.

"The essence of restructuring actually consists of the fact," M.S. Gorbachev emphasized in his new book *Restructuring and New Thinking for Our Country and the Whole World*, "**that it combines socialism and democracy,** that it fully restores, both in theory and in practice, Lenin's concept of socialist building."

The socialist state is a living organism within which living people act. The nature of the state is determined by people's actions. Soviet people's actions today are aimed at transforming their country into a model of a highly developed state, with the most advanced economy, with the broadest of democracy, and with the most humanitarian morality incorporating the best values of all humanity. This state will be a stage along the path toward a society in which working people will know no other form of power apart from the power of their own union.

Economic

Managers Ponder Failings of Economic Reform

PM191341 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with V. Pashchenko, director general of the "Frezer" Production Association, and Prof F. Rudnik, assistant director for economic affairs, by M. Berger under the rubric "Restructuring and the Economic Mechanism": "Wants, Fears, and Hopes"—first two paragraphs are IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] The USSR Law on the State Enterprise enters into force in less than 2 months. What will work in the new conditions be like? This is a question which many people are asking themselves today. Some people are conjecturing and making forecasts, but some people have already obtained specific answers to the first questions: A number of enterprises, as an experiment, switched to the new conditions of management last January. The Moscow "Frezer" instrument-making production association is one of them.

What potential does self-financing hold for the collective, what problems and dangers does it contain, how does the "new economy" differ from the "old economy" in practice, and what have the first months of work in the new conditions produced?

This is discussdd by V. Pashchenko, the association's director general, and Prof F. Rudnik, assistant director for economic affairs and candidate of economic sciences.

[Berger] Vladimir Lvovich and Fedor Ivanovich, your enterprise is among the pioneers of full economic accountability [khozraschet]. What are your first impressions and what would you describe as unquestionable characteristics of economic accountability?

[Rudnik] I see myself as an optimist, but a sober optimist, possibly even a cautious optimist. In my opinion we have a very long way to go before we achieve a decisive breakthrough in our work. This is what I feel. In the past we were tied hand and foot and gagged as well.

Now our hands are free, the gag was removed long ago, but our feet remain tied. What I am saying is that we now talk freely about everything, we are able to gesticulate with our hands, but we are still unable to move independently.

[Pashchenko] Call that optimism! I would describe it as gloomy rather than cautious optimism.

[Rudnik] I have to insist on the term "cautious." One of the main problems confronting us today—and soon it will confront thousands of enterprises—is that we arrive with our new principles of management bang in the middle of the 5-year plan with its control figures, that we are beginning a new economic life without waiting for the "economic Monday."

This means above all that we are forced to coexist with the old economic mechanism, which has plenty of ramified support and protection systems. The result is not peaceful coexistence. This is understandable. After all, we are determined to dismantle and discard the old machine and, naturally, it is resisting. And resisting by no means unsuccessfully. Allow me to cite just one example.

Recently inspectors from the rayon financial department arrived at the association, allegedly to check staffing discipline. I asked them: "On what grounds? We are working in the new conditions and it is our own business how many people we employ and where. We could keep all our staff in offices or we could all be bustling on the shop floor."

Very quickly I was told who should be doing what and where. A notification which came through the mail informed us that the association's bank account had been frozen. The reason—a 50-year old resolution of the Council of People's Commissars. On the basis of this document, which is still in force, the inspectors discovered an overexpenditure on business trips of no less than 5 rubles 20 kopeks and they deemed it possible and necessary to freeze our account. And it remained frozen until we reported to the rayon financial department in writing that the overspent sum of money had been recovered (although, as I understand it, these are now purely internal problems which concern us alone). And we run into adventures of this kind at every step. This is why I say that our feet remain tied.

[Pashchenko] Nonetheless, I take the view that we are not just free to gesticulate but that we are also moving. True, not quite as fast or as independently as one might wish, but we are moving. In my opinion, the problem lies elsewhere. Economic accountability, like many other changes, is being introduced "from the top downward." Hence the hitches. The "Frezer" association as a whole is self-financing. However, the shops and teams are not economically accountable, there is no economic accountability, not even a simplified form of it. It is possible to claim boldly that until a shop or section foreman can say: "I am taking this machine tool because I need it, but this new one is no good to me, we will modernize the one we have and without losing anything in technical terms we will gain so many thousand rubles..." there is no economic accountability in the shop.

We are now testing a fundamentally new system of internal economic accountability in one of our shops and, if it proves its worth, we will extend it to the other shops from the beginning of the new year. We are also thinking about introducing the checkbook system of accounting between production and preliminary and auxiliary shops. In short, having received economic accountability principles from the "top" we are doing all we can to pass them on to the "grassroots."

[Rudin] We are often asked: Is it difficult to work in the new conditions? When Bach was asked whether it was difficult to play the organ, he replied: Not at all, you just have to know what keys to press and when. Likewise, when managing an enterprise in the new conditions, it is also necessary to know exactly which keys to press and when. The problem is that we are not playing two-handed, or even four-handed. There are six assistant directors alone, and then there are the heads of various services and sections.

[Berger] And what does your "management organ" sound like? Much depends on the instrument, of course, but nonetheless what are the performers like, do they, that is, you, like their own work? When discussing the development of new relations in the economy it is customary, above all, to critize obsolete instructions and reactionary people higher up; however, in front of a mirror the critic's vision as a rule becomes blurred. Is everyone always capable of correctly judging their own skills and aptitude?

[Pashchenko] I have worked as a director for 3 years here and prior to that for 4 years at the "Stankoagregat" association. Before that I worked for several years in the upper echelon of management at the Ordzhonikidze plant. But only last year did I come to grips with the enterprise finance plan. Before that I had nothing to do with it. And only when compiling this plan together with the financial experts did I realize that until then I had not understood self-financing in the least. Even now I have not mastered all its finer points, but I am aware of my mistakes.

The only drawback is that under the self-financing system the whole collective will sooner or later feel the impact of my mistakes. But maybe that is not a drawback? After all, the purpose of economic accountability is to show what people are worth and what they can do.

I wrestled with the ministry over profit normatives. It was a life-and-death struggle. After all, it is no joke. We will have to live with these norms until the end of the 5-year plan. I quickly became aware of the following detail in the ministerial draft plans: With every passing

year production volumes are going up, prime costs are going down, profit is rising, but our share of it in 1990 is smaller than in 1987. Absurd! What is the good of striving in this case?

Not without difficulty, I disputed this and got a stable profit norm laid down for us, assuring us of annual profit growth in absolute terms. While I was celebrating my victory, the ministry revised our depreciation deduction norms. The less favorable depreciation rates swallowed up the bit of extra profit which I thought I had won. I was outmaneuvered, so to speak, and I had not even noticed. Why? Probably because I did not have the necessary expertise.

[Rudnik] I assume that your self-criticism, Vladimir Lvovich, gives me the right to pass on to criticizing our management echelon. Unfortunately, the leading cadres at the "Frezer" association, as at many other enterprises incidentally, were chosen on the basis of the personal data which they themselves supplied rather that for their professional qualities. First, you had to have a clean record, and second, you had to "fit in." Professional qualifications were of secondary importance. This principle did the "Frezer" a bad turn. We had an assistant director who had graduated from the party school and, it is true, he was a "good guy." But he had no idea about technology. We had other captains of industry at various levels who met many requirements except one—they did not know their job.

[Pashchenko] As for your own appointment, Fedor Ivanovich, I had to fight for it for 2 years. And had it not been for the Central Committee January Plenum, I do not know who would be answering the newspaper's questions here with me today.

[Rudnik] But you will agree that the quality of the answers to the newspaper's questions has no bearing on the standard of economic activity. However, when one listens to the demands of some of your assistant directors, who in my view have not grasped the essence of self-financing, one fears that the plant might indeed be left without the means it needs to survive. One of your assistant directors told me: "I need R10 million for retooling." So I said to him: "We have not got R10 million. The money has to be earned." So he says: "I need the money, you find it...." He seems incapable of grasping that the verbs "find" and "get" have to be replaced by "earn" and "buy." So in the first quarter of our self-financing, we ordered almost R3 million of equipment while we earned less than R1.5 million for these purposes. The inertia of "going and getting" was still at work. And we had to take out a loan at a higher interest rate, which further reduced our profit margin, which for various reasons fell short anyway.

[Berger] For what reasons, if it is not a secret?

[Rudnik] The demands currently made on output quality are more rigorous. The fines levied by the state acceptance service for deviations from standards total between 5 and 15% of the cost of goods. Since the beginning of the year we have paid out around R500,000 alone for the failure to deliver specific types of goods. Painful, isn't it?

[Berger] And in the past it wasn't painful?

[Rudnik] Until recently our consumers preferred to remain on good terms with us. After all, we have a monopoly on production of many kinds of instruments. For instance drills with a diameter of less than 1 mm are made only by us. They could not afford to jeopardize their relations with us. And so some demanded a fine and others did not. And so we got by.

Today, in accordance with the new rules, we ourselves, without being reminded, and without any sort of action on the part of our consumers, must pay the fines for our shortcomings, up to 18% of the total cost of every contract we break. You could, of course, try not to pay. But that would be like traveling without a ticket. If we got caught saving money this way we would have to pay 50% of the total contract cost. We cannot allow ourselves this kind of luxury.

Nonproduction losses make deep inroads into our profit and naturally detract from all funds, including the production development fund. As a result, we will be spending R1 million less on retooling than we ourselves had planned. And I am being asked for R10 million. From what income?

[Pashchenko] An interesting detail is that people in the rayon branch of the Stroybank [Bank for Financing Capital Investments] do not understand, or do not want to understand, the conditions in which we are working today. They admonish us: You are not meeting your retooling plan, your allocation for the construction of a pioneer camp is R300,000 short....

Well, we did not earn as much as we intended to, and therefore cuts had to be made in all areas. Unpleasant? Painful? Well, the essence of self-financing lies in learning the difference between earning your living and not earning it, between having enough money and not having it.

At the end of last year we failed to take delivery of a number of machine tools and as a result of this we underfulfilled our retooling plan by R300,000. The raykom mercilessly took us to task for this and we did not know where to turn. When suddenly, instead of the machine tools which we had ordered and which cost R40,000 each, machine tools costing R100,000 arrived, we were very happy and reported the fulfillment of the retooling plan.

Now the situation is completely different. We would not dream of paying over the odds. Neither for equipment, nor for materials. Today we look at every price ten times to see where and how we can save a bit. In the past we never asked ourselves how much the metal with which we were working cost, for instance. Thus we were getting hard-alloy sheets which had been worked by the supplier. Each cost around R2 (that was their nominal cost, we did not pay it). We are now developing our own capacities to work them and will buy them unworked at 30 kopeks each.

What I am trying to say is that without any plan for new technology we are saving resources, improving technology, and so on and so forth, prompted by a single criterion—the size of profit. Our actions also make the suppliers think and they are trying hard not to lose their orders and hence their profit. This is why I think that profit should be our key indicator without any targets for assimilation, introduction of innovations, and so forth. We ourselves will take care to ensure that the cost price of our output is low, we will try to buy raw materials as cheaply as possible and to sell our output as advantageously as possible.

[Berger] So you will not try to raise the price by every means available—after all, that is the shortest and easiest way to profit?

[Rudnik] Vladimir Lvovich tells me even now that our price work is not good enough. Translated into generally understandable language, "price work" means achieving the maximum permitted level of profitability with the help of prices. Our profit now runs at 17%, while the ceiling is 21%. The director believes that we are depriving ourselves of 4%. I am not convinced of this. By squeezing money out of the consumer we force him to cover costs which we should control, and sooner or later this will backfire on us and we will regret it.

[Pashchenko] It must not be forgotten that there is a strict ceiling on our level of profitability.

[Rudnik] This limit, just like most similar measures, has a serious flaw. We will keep on improving technology and as a result we will produce more and more goods with lower labor inputs. Profits will exceed the set limit and all the surplus will in this case be siphoned off. Do you call this an incentive for development?

[Berger] What would happen if the limit on profit were removed?

[Pashchenko] We must be honest and admit that in that case we would have a vested interest in artificially raising prices. In conditions of the absence of market pressures on prices, administrative supervision is most probably inevitable, although it is not cheap.

[Berger] Why do we regard administrative control as the only possible and effective means? After all, there are scientific principles of price formation, are there not? Can fundamental economic science not help to combine—via prices—the interests of individual enterprises and the state?

[Rudnik] In my view, this is a key problem which concerns not only self-financing but the economy as a whole.

Seven or 8 years ago, a large representative conference on price formation was held at the Moscow Financial Institute where I lectured. The conference proceeded along well-rehearsed lines, as was customary in those times. Suddenly one of the speakers got up and said: "I don't understand what this price formation we are discussing is. After all, prices in our country are laid down, as everyone knows perfectly well."

What we now openly admit caused a real scandal then. However, it is a difficult road from admitting a mistake to putting it right. So far, no radical changes have taken place in either the theory or the practice of price formation. Incidentally, this is a topic for a separate discussion.

Does economic science help us in our practical work? I am a practitioner as well as a scientist. I am responsible for the association's economic activity and at the same time I am a member of the academic council of the Moscow Financial Institute. I see life from both sides, as it were. I have supervised a great number of dissertations and I have taken part in the work of many scientific commissions. In all these years, I have not come across any fundamental research which I could use as a guideline in my practical work, which would help me to define long-term strategic targets and to achieve them. There are bright people and there are interesting ideas and studies, but—at the risk of incurring the wrath of my scientific colleagues—I must say that in the economy I have unfortunately not come across fundamental research geared to the solution of practical tasks.

[Berger] What are your hopes and what are your fears in connection with the entry into force of the Law on the Enterprise?

[Rudnik] I am hoping that the law itself will be improved. After all, the traditions of our management and control are such that they will turn the law into a list of restrictions. We will be allowed to do only what the law expressly allows us to do. However, the reverse is required. The law should state what is prohibited, and everything else should be allowed. And although it has been said that everything that is not forbidden llowed, in actual fact it can mean that your bank account is frozen, as in our case, or you run into all sorts of other problems.

I am hoping, of course, that as from the beginning of the new year we will become much more independent and assertive in the good sense of the word. For instance, a

deputy minister is trying to cut our plan for 1988. I tell him: "You have no right. We will approve our own plan and then inform the ministry." He objects: "The law has not come into force yet." I say: "It will come into force at the same time as the plan!"

So far the deputy minister is sticking to his guns. What about us? At the beginning of the new year we will take our case to the USSR Prosecutor's Office and accuse the deputy minister of acting against the Law on the Enterprise. As soon as we lodge our protest, the Prosecutor's Office should, in theory, suspend the ministerial action. You can imagine how careful they now will have to be at the ministry with their instructions. However, I am afraid that it may all remain in the realm of theory....

[Pashchenko] What I would like and what I am afraid of? I would like no interference in how, together with the labor collective council, we dispose of our profit. And I am afraid of losing profit. There are too many gaps which have not been closed yet. There is the practically free labor of our people at kolkhozes and bases, and various kinds of "assistance" and "donations" to the city and rayon. I believe that we should be made to pay adequate tax, but any service that we supply should also be paid for. And last but not least, I am afraid of being crushed by targets which are not backed up by resources. Even today our state order is R5 million short in terms of raw materials.

However, enough of conjectures. Let us meet again in the new year and continue our discussion then.

'Key Question' of Money in Restructuring

PM231547 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 46, 15 Nov 87 p 12

[Professor Anatoliy Matlin article: "Economic Reform and Money"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] For the third time in the postwar period the task is being set to modify the economic mechanism and economic relations in our society. An objective analysis of the advances and reverses of 1965 and 1979 can be useful for ensuring the success of perestroyka. Needless to say, this experience is extremely diversified and calls for an in-depth study because it is impossible to use the economic methods of management and commodity-money relations without a clear idea of waht is happening to money in our country and what we are going to do with it next. This is an intricate question which still awaits its final solution. The following article reflects its author's personal view.

Let us recall: "The following happens to be the case today: A kopek is lying on the pavement, someone passes by but does not stoop to pick it up. But when the new money comes, a kopek will not stay on the pavement, it will be picked up because it is equal to a box of matches," Nikita Khrushchev told a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in 1960.

A box of matches still costs a kopek, but nothing else will be bought with a kopek. With two kopeks it is possible to use a public telephone, with three—to have a glass of gassy water with syrup, with five—to take a ride on public transport. For a kilo of butter you need to have 350 kopeks, for a car—800,000 kopeks, and it takes 1,600 kopeks to refuel it with gas just once.

Everyone knows that even now, almost 30 years later, "a kopek is lying on the pavement, someone passes by but does not stoop to pick it up". However, our economy still cannot pass by the "kopek". On two occasions, in 1965 and 1979, economic reforms stumbled over money and prices. Even now, in 1987, there is no confidence that, given the current purchasing power of money, it will be possible to make effective use of the economic methods of management. Any analyst knows that a mere mention about the possibility of raising prices, i.e., lowering the purchasing power of the rouble, generates and multiplies mistrust in the ability of economic government departments to manage the economy efficiently.

The year 1961 witnessed what looked like a perfectly harmless operation: The scale of our monetary unit was increased 10-fold and in this connection new money was emitted into circulation.

In fact, as we know, a pretty mess was made with the currency reform of 1961. For some reason the ABC of economic science was forgotten when it was carried out: Money is a social relation, whereas banknotes are the promissory notes of the State Bank which can be trusted and worked for, but which can also be mistrusted by demanding a "harder currency".

What was the mistake of 1961? The state could replace ten old roubles with one new rouble only in payments to industrial and office workers on the state payroll, and in fixing prices in state and cooperative trade. It did not have this power in regard to everything else. The peasants, who received their incomes from the collective farm and from sales on the collective farm market, might not accepted the new rate of the rouble. According to published statistics, prices on the collective farm market, which in 1960 were lower than prewar prices (97 per cent), had increased 18.5 per cent by 1963. The struggle against personal subsidiary plots by extra-economic methods, in reply to the growing prices in those years, brought about a decline in the physical volume of sales on the collective farm market by 10 per cent.

In 1960 the collective farm market supplied 13.9 percent of foodstuffs to the urban population, mainly in small and average-size cities. There was a need to find ways of somehow compensating for the rise in prices and the fall in the sale of foodstuffs. Thus, to the wage-levelling in the payment for labour, created during revising its conditions in 1956-1959, was added the "evening out" in the payment for labour to city workers.

The real depreciation of banknotes inevitably brought about a protracted growth in all prices. The first "swallow" came with the 30 per cent increase in the retail prices of meat and meat products, and 25 per cent in the case of butter.

It must be said that at that time, in the early 1960s, our economic government departments (in contrast to the present ones) took exception to the increase in prices. They, for example, were clearly aware that the increase in the prices of extractive industry was in no way linked to the "natural factor". Thus, on December 2, 1960, the USSR State Planning Committee, the USSR Ministry of Finance and the USSR State Bank reported to the government that "the crucial reason why a large number of heavy-industry enterprises have been operating in the red is that the considerable growth of wages, which has taken place in recent years in a number of its extractive sectors in connection with their adjustment and the reduction of the length of the working day, has not been compensated by a corresponding increase in labour productivity".

That is the reason why the new wholesale prices, already prepared by 1963, were not put to use up until 1967. In the situation of the early 1960s with the fall in the purchasing power of money, the economy was gradually crawling into the epoch of deficit—money came to cease playing an economic part and its place was taken over by the extra-economic distribution of material resources and "backstairs" distribution of goods.

It is clear that all these processes were bound to bring about a fall in the rates of economic growth and a decline in the effectiveness of social production. This was greatly assisted by the spiralling growth of prices and wages which developed after and, most likely, to a considerable extent as a result of the currency reform of 1961.

When the economic reforms of 1965 were being drafted, money was not remembered or thought about. But there was a need to think about it.

Why did the economic reform, conceived as a means of raising effectiveness and the growth rates, bring about a long period of stagnation? Some economists say that everything was decided correctly but things were allegedly not brought to their logical end. But now...We shall make it! I don't know whom these talks are intended for: Victors alone are not judged. But once the 1965 reform failed, it means that something in it had not been sufficiently thought out, something—underdone. It is very important for us to know this "something", because this was not seen in 1979. Now we simply cannot afford to play havoc with the reconstruction of the economy. It goes against the grain with us to put this far from easy labour onto the shoulders of our children and grandchildren.

They key question of restructuring the economy is that of money. History teaches us that no economic problems can be solved without solving the problem of money. This was well understood by the founder of our state, who, in a country devastated to the point of the impossible, carried out a currency reform and revived the national economy. Today we often recall NEP (New Economic Policy) and argue that the economic miracle was due to individual enterprise and cooperation. And some have gone to the length of claiming that there would have been no NEP without NEPMEN.

In actual fact the NEP "miracle" was based on two roots: hard currency and—for the first time after a thousand years of work for employers—the possibility of people to work for themselves. Let us recall how the question was put by Lenin: "What is really important is the problem of stabilizing the rouble....If we succeed in stabilizing the rouble for a long period, and then for all time, it will prove that we have won....We shall then be able to place our economy on a firm basis, and develop it further on a firm basis."

In 1965 the wholesale and purcashing prices were inflated instead of raising the purchasing power of the rouble. The officially proclaimed stability of retail prices was observed within the limits of the possible: on commodities which were produced on definite and controllable prices, moreover quality was reduced wherever possible due to the same price. Let me note in this connection — hard money yields firm quality.

However stability, of course, extended to a small quantity of goods. Purchasing prices were built on the basis of the purcashing prices of the dearest virgin-soil grain and kept on growing constantly. Therefore the retail prices of goods from agricultural raw materials (cotton, wool, flax, leather, etc.) also disengaged from the stable retail prices of 1962 — they were based on a different scale of prices, i.e., a totally different rouble.

Wholesale prices also began to grow, as did purchasing prices. At their bedrock lay the wholesale price of coal which was being raised "in big leaps". Therefore the retail prices of goods made out of industrial raw materials likewise have nothing in common with the retail prices of first necessities ("stable prices") and the prices of goods out of agricultural raw materials.

Thus, three scales of prices, three different monetary units appeared in fact in our country, first in 1965 and then in 1979. The prices of different goods have nothing in common with one another. Nor did they square with the level of the population's incomes: 120 roubles for women's boots, the average monthly wage being 200 roubles, or 8,000 roubles for a car, with the same monthly wage! The inflated wholesale and purcashing prices, severed from real costs, on a number of goods began to overtake retail prices. This is how subsidies appeared, the abolition of which is a pressing economic necessity. But how is this to be done?

The national leadership is aware of the complexity of the problem and the population's enhanced sensitivity to the ways of its solution. We shall have to take a serious look at prices, but do it in such a way as not to affect the less well-off strata, Mikhail Gorbachev recently said in Murmansk, rejecting the hostile conjectures on this score. Such is the guideline. But this is a principle, not yet a specific solution. And it is the latter that will have to be thought over in a proper way. Let me state a number of considerations.

The economic aspect of perestroyka can be ensured only by fulfilling the decision taken on raising the purchasing power of money. But this flies in the face of too many things. First and foremost, the "idea" of raising first some, then other prices. Of course, it is the easiest thing of all to solve outstanding economic and technical problems in the old, tried and tested, paper way: It is easier to raise the price than carry out technological retooling, renew output, go over to two- or three-shift working, etc. In exactly the same way the subsidizing of the difference between the purchasing and the retail price can be dealt with in different ways: by either lowering the purchasing price or raising the retail price. But the effect will be different: The producer of output will not get anything from a higher retail price, but the consumer will lose. Who then is going to gain? Most likely, no one — there will be a depreciation of money, from which everyone stands to lose under our sytem of economic management.

In weighiing all the "pros" and "cons" concerning the ways out of the existing economic contradictions, there is a need to take cognizance of the experience of other socialist countries. And it has shown that the spiral of growing prices and wages inevitably brings about a deterioration of the economic condition. It is therefore time to remember our own experience: hard money, ensured by commodity resources and attended by lowering prices, and the working people's firm cofidence that they are working for their society — for themselves.

Waste of Resources in W. Siberia Viewed

PM191015 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Nov 87 Second Edition p 3

[G. Yastrebtsov report: "Abandoned in the Tundra"]

[Text] Yesterday the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium discussed a USSR People's Control Committee memorandum on mismanagement and extravagance in the consumption of metal pipes, rolled metal products, equipment, and other materials on fields and construction sites of the West Siberian Oil and Gas Complex.

"Metal in the Tundra" was the title of a report published in *Pravda* in January. After discussing the newspaper article, the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium made the leaders of ministries instill order as quickly as possible in recording, storing, and using material resources, particularly pipes, on West Siberian fields and construction sites. In March the leaders of the USSR Ministries of the Gas Industry, the Petroleum Industry, and Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises reported that such order had been instilled. However, a recent check conducted by inspectors in Tyumen Oblast showed that the situation has not improved.

Leaders of enterprises and organizations have taken the old path: They have confined themselves to issuing orders and instructions on the need to eliminate shortcomings in recording, storing, and consuming materials. This important work has, in fact, been allowed to drift. Pipes, oilfield equipment, rolled metal products, chemical reagents, and other materials, including ones purchased abroad, are still being used badly and are being abandoned around wells drilled on deposits and along roads and gas pipelines. The territories of many fields and enterprises are cluttered with waste metal. Whole piles of pipes and hundreds of machines and mechanisms abandoned in the tundra and in swamps have been discovered in a number of places.

Enterprises of the Main Administration for the Gas Industry in Tyumen Oblast are particularly noted for mismanagement. The leaders there have taken advantage of the fact that the state spares no means or resources for developing the West Siberian Oil and Gas Complex and have neglected their recording and control and tolerated huge losses. More than 15,000 tonnes of abandoned drill pipes, casing pipes, oil pipes, and welded pipes have been discovered around operational fields and gas-preparation plants alone. Some 3,500 tonnes of various pipes—approximately 53 km—are lying about unused on "Nadymgazprom" fields. Some 1,500 tonnes of new pipes are lying unused on numerous dumps and along access roads of the Yamburg gas deposit. Many of them have been thrown into water or been covered with earth. In addition, dozens of machines and mechanisms have been abandoned in the tundra and in swamps, including 33 tractors, pipelayers, and swamp vehicles, 65 trucks, and 4 drilling rigs. The majority of them have been dismantled [razukomplektovat] and put out of commission. Was it worth bringing all this thousands of kilometers from the country's industrial centers or from abroad in order to destroy it?

Yes, it is hard to work in West Siberia. Oil and gas are being extracted at an increasingly high price. But does this mean that millions upon millions of the people's rubles can just be written off to the frost, bad roads, or remoteness? People write indignantly to *Pravda* and the USSR People's Control Committee about the inadmissibility of mismanagement and extravagance. Recently, for example, Comrade Tkachenko, a driver, wrote a letter to the people's control organs reporting that in the "Tyumenburgaz" Association all superfluously imported equipment is not stored but... buried in the ground. A check has shown that these scandalous facts are not a fabrication but the truth. In the presence of the association's leaders transformers, electrical panels, sheet metal, high-pressure cocks, casing pipes, dozens of bags of cement, and other materials and equipment were

extracted from filled-in ditches and trenches at two bases alone. This has all been put in store and been receipted, and the guilty persons have been called strictly to account. But the question arises: How, in general, could the fruits of human labor be allowed to be barbarously destroyed?

On many construction sites under the control of the USSR Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises, there are systematic violations of the regulations governing the reception, transportation, warehousing, and storing of pipes, equipment, and materials. The leaders of the ministry, the "Sibkomplektmontazh" Association, and the "Severogazelektromontazh" and "Urengoygazzhilstroy" Trusts were reprimanded for this as long as 5 years ago. However, no measures were taken to instill order. And there are many such examples in West Siberia. The use of oil-grade pipes to make scaffolding, decking, and street and enterprise fencing has assumed a mass scale, particularly recently. Thus, in the space of 2 years 84 km of metal fencing was constructed in the city of Nadym, illegally using up more than 780 tonnes of various pipes. Scarce materials are used for private garages and in the foundations of numerous offices.

The USSR Council of Ministers Presidium has made a principled assessment of instances of mismanagement and extravagance on West Siberian fields and construction sites and obliged the ministries to instill order. The guilty persons have been severely punished.

Agricultural

Procurement Prices To Rise R30 Billion

LD240922 Moscow TASS in English 0800 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 24 TASS—It is planned to raise state procurement prices of agricultural produce by 30 billion roubles as part of the current economic restructuring in the country, Leon Aivazov, a deputy chairman of the U.S.S.R. State Committee for Prices, told a TASS correspondent.

A portion of that sum, 11.7 billion roubles, to be precise, is linked with an increase in the wholesale prices of manufactured goods. The other—with the lifting of state subsidies granted earlier to collective and state farms for the purchase of machines, fertilizers and mixed fodder.

In the previous years wholesale price increases in industry, as a rule, directly caused produce procurement prices to grow. The latest such increase came in 1983 when agriculture received an additional 21 billion roubles through price increases and extra charges.

Last year the state allocated 5 billion roubles in subsidies for the purchase of machines by collective farms. In addition to that agriculture is buying electricity, gas, mixed fodder and other goods at preferential tariffs. In the 13th Five-Year Plan (1991-1995) the double price system on all means of production will exist no longer. All kinds of subsidies as well as preferences in tariffs and prices of manufactured goods delivered to the agri-industrial sector will be cancelled to be replaced with standard wholesale prices.

It is only natural that changes in the wholesale and procurement prices will demand a review of retail prices of foodstuffs, Leon Aivazov emphasized. Although today it is still impossible to say what will become more expensive and what—cheaper. This is much is clear—retail prices will have to come in line with the social prices of production and market demands. But at any rate this will not result in any decrease in the consumption of foodstuffs or a decline in the living standards.

All changes in the system of pricing which have even the slightest bearing on the interests of the population will become a subject of a broad public discussion, Leon Aivazov said.

Scientific

Experiments of 'Mir' Cosmonauts Previewed

LD240648 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0304 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Yuriy Romanenko and Aleksandr Aleksandrov are continuing their flight on board the *Mir* scientific and research complex. Today the program for the day includes geophysical experiments and work on unloading the "Progress-33" freight craft. Several sets of photographs of the earth's surface are planned in the framework of the program for studying the environment. The cosmonauts will also prepare one of the scientific instruments, a portable electronic photometer, and in the second half of the day, will survey optical features of the earth's atmosphere. According to orbit reports, the flight is proceeding according to the planned schedule. Both cosmonauts are healthy and feel well.

Unloading Operations Performed

LD241105 Moscow TASS in English 1035 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 24 TASS—Cosmonauts Yuriy Romanenko and Aleksandr Aleksandrov are continuing their mission aboard the space platform *Mir* which linked up with an unmanned freighter, "Progress-33," yesterday.

It was the seventh supply craft to dock with *Mir* to sustain what is the longest manned flight in the history of cosmonautics.

After checking the airtightness of the docking port, the crew opened the airlock hatchways and began carrying newly-delivered equipment into the platform.

Besides these unloading operations, they are to do a number of geophysics studies today, including visual observations and photography focusing on individual parts of earth's surface and experiments to determine the optical characterics of the atmosphere.

Romanenko and Aleksandrov are feeling well.

The flight of the orbiting research platform *Mir* is proceeding normally.

'Interbol' Project Discussed at Conference

LD231410 Moscow TASS in English 0942 GMT 23 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 23 TASS—An international conference that opened today in the old Russian town of Suzdal, 250 km away from Moscow, would discuss questions connected with the preparation of Interbol, a major international project. Together with Soviet scientists and experts, their colleagues from Bulgaria, the GDR, Cuba, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Canada, France, Finland, Sweden and the European Space Agency are taking part in the preparations.

"The purpose of the Interbol program is the study of ties between the earth and the sun and of physical characteristics of space plasma", the Soviet scientist Lev Zelyony, deputy scientific director of the project, said in a TASS interview. "Participants in the program will do research into the physical mechanisms determining the transfer of energy of a plasma flow coming from the sun to the magnetosphere of the earth".

The project provides for the launching in 1990 of two pairs of artificial earth satellites. According to Dr. Zelyony, each of the pairs will consist of the main satellite of the Prognoz type and the auxiliary satellite produced in Czechoslovakia. One of the pairs will study processes in the tail part of the magnetosphere at a distance of 100,000-200,000 km from the earth, i.e. in the area where magnetic energy accumulates. The second pair of the satellites will explore the areas which are 5,000-15,000 km away from the earth. In those areas particle flows achieve a very high speed and produce northern lights in the process.

The implementation of the project will permit to study the relationship between the phenomena in far-away areas of the earth's magnetosphere and in the near-earth plasma, will make it possible to study the key elements of a complicated system of physical phenomena that make the processes taking place in the sun influence the earth's biosphere. Apart from it, Dr. Zelyony continued, experimental research into the phenomena taking place in space plasma could help resolve many fundamental physical problems, for instance, that of controlled thermonuclear synthesis.

The conference will last till November 28.

Military

Restructuring in Army Party Organs Discussed

PM231417 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Nov 87 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "The Party Organization and Restructuring"]

[Excerpts] Today we are living at a crucial moment. A new political and moral-psychological situation has been created in the country. The party has succeeded in boosting people's interest in public affairs and activeness, raising the level of exactingness, criticism, self-criticism, and glasnost, and creating preconditions for real changes in people's thinking and sentiments.

"The success of restructuring," M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said at the ceremonial session to mark the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, "depends above all on the vigor, purposefulness, and force of example of the party and every Communist." Today's main task, he noted, is to radically improve the activity of party organizations, party organs, and cadres.

In resolving this task, many Army and Navy party organizations have stepped up their activity, boldly embarked on the path of broadening internal party democracy and glasnost, and have stepped up exactingness toward Communists for the area of work entrusted to them and for the end results of combat training. As the results of the training year illustrate, matters have progressed there. [Passage omitted]

However, it must be admitted frankly that by no means have all Army and Navy party organizations found their niche in resolving tasks of restructuring. Some lag behind the time, do not keep apace of modern demands, and bring up the rear instead of being in the vanguard. This is a direct consequence of political and organizational sluggishness on the part of party committees, bureaus, and party organization secretaries. [Passage omitted]

It is well known that the main criterion in assessing the activity of a party organization or any Communist, and in appraising the work of cadres, is their attitude to restructuring and their concrete contribution to the struggle to implement it. For political organs, Army and Navy party organizations, party committees and bureaus, and all military cadres, what counts is the real results achieved in improving the combat readiness and level of skill of formations and units, and personnel training and in the social and spiritual sphere. These results and the contribution of every political organ and every primary party organization to the common cause will be determined at meetings of Communists and the party aktiv to discuss progress in restructuring party political work. These will take place from November this year through January next year.

The meetings of primary party organizations will hear reports from party committees (bureaus) and secretaries about the state of party work to resolve tasks of restructuring in the light of demands of the 27th CPSU Congress. Meetings of the party aktiv of military districts, groups of forces and fleets, formations, military educational establishments, staffs, and directorates in the central apparatus will discuss progress in restructuring the work of military cadres, political organs, and party organizations in the light of decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, and also the tasks for the new training year. The discussion must answer precisely and definitely the most important question: Are the party organizations or political organs and Communists of regiments or ships in the vanguard of the process of renewal, does their activity give a creative fillip for military cadres' work, and are there perceptible steps in reinforcing military discipline and regulation order and improving conditions of service and daily life for servicemen?

What does this require? Above all, that reports by elective party organs and their secretaries and party aktiv meetings take place in a spirit of bolshevik frankness, glasnost, constructive criticism, and self-criticism and that the opinions of all Communists are taken into consideration. In this context, it is recommended that party members be familiarized in advance with the main points of the reports of party committees, bureaus, and political organs. It is inadmissible for meetings to be held according to a prearranged scenario, which deflects the audience from objectively assessing the activity both of political organs and elective party organs and also of their leaders.

It is important that specific ways of reinforcing party influence on stepping up combat readiness, intensifying the quality of combat training, reinforcing military discipline, and fulfilling the combat training program and production plans be determined at these meetings. Each organization must also work out measures to ensure further democratization of internal party life and Communists' freedom of discussion and unity of action and also concentrate attention on strenthening ideological education work and the struggle against bureaucracy and irresponsibility.

The work style of bureaus, party committees, and political organs must be assessed according to real deeds from the standpoint of a profound and critical analysis of the progress of restructuring in units and on ships and from the standpoint of the resolute renewal of internal party life. Criticism must not be a means of recording shortcomings but a program for eliminating them. If Communists deem it necessary during discussions, it is necessary to boldly embark on strengthening party elected organs and replace individual members who are unable to cope with their duties or who have compromised themselves and, where the work of bureaus and party committees is unsatisfactory, it is necessary to reelect them.

Holding meetings of Communists and party aktivs to discuss progress in restructuring party-political work is an important phase in preparing for the 19th All-Union Party Conference and will help to increase primary party organizations' activeness and step up their influence on combat readiness.

More on Strategic Rocket Forces, Artillery Day

PM231505 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Nov 87 First Edition p 1

["Our correspondent" report: "Ceremonial Meeting"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting of representatives of the working people of the hero-city of Moscow and servicemen from the city's garrison took place 19 November in the Soviet Army's Central Academy Theater to mark Rocket Forces' and Artillery Day.

The meeting's presidium included the following: O.D. Baklanov and B.M. Belousov, USSR ministers; Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; I.A. Larin, first deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee Department; Army General Yu.P. Maksimov, Admiral of the Fleet V.N. Chernavin, Army General M.I. Sorokin, and Army General D.S. Sukhorukov, USSR deputy defense ministers; Admiral of the Fleet G.M. Yegorov, chairman of the USSR DOSAAF Central Committee; and also Chief Marshal of Artillery V.F. Tolubko; marshals of troop categories; generals, admirals, and officers; Rocket Forces and Artillery veterans; defense industry workers; and designers.

Yu.A. Belyakov, secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, opened the meeting.

The missilemen and artillerymen were cordially greeted by B.N. Lagutin and V.M. Yasinovskiy, representatives of the working people of Moscow, and S.N. Yepifantsev, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee.

Army General Yu.P. Maksimov, commander in chief of the Strategic Rocket Forces and USSR deputy defense minister, addressed the meeting.

Yazov, Other Leaders Sign Obituaries

Military Academician Tonkikh

PM231443 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Nov 87 First Edition p 4

[Obituary of F.P. Tonkikh]

[Excerpts] Doctor of Military Sciences Prof Colonel General Fedor Petrovich Tonkikh has died after a serious illness. He devoted his entire conscious life to selflessly serving the socialist motherland and the cause of the Communist Party, of which he had been a member since 1938.

F.P. Tonkikh was born in 1912 in a peasant family in the village of Podvorki, in Lipetsk Oblast's Gryazinskiy Rayon. [Passage omitted]

In the postwar period, he served in command and staff posts. From 1969 to 1985 he was chief of the F.E. Dzerzhinskiy Military Academy. [Passage omitted]

D.T. Yazov, S.F. Akhromeyev, V.G. Kulikov, P.G. Lushev, A.D. Lizichev, Yu.P. Maksimov, Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, I.M. Tretyak, A.N. Yefimov, V.N. Chernavin, M.I. Sorokin, S.K. Kurotkin, V.M. Shabanov, N.F. Shestopalov, V.L. Govorov, D.S. Sukhorukov, A.I. Sorokin, V.S. Rodin, Yu.A. Yashin, S.G. Kochemasov, G.N. Malinovskiy, A.P. Volkov, V.P. Shilovskiy, V.S. Nedelin, V.F. Tolubko, Ye.V. Boychuk, N.N. Kotlovtsev, V.V. Zolotarev, Yu.V. Kryuchkov, A.I. Titarenko, V.S. Orlov.

Artillery Marshal Peredelskiy

PM241309 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Nov 87 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed obituary of Artillery Marshal Georgiy Yefimovich Peredelskiy]

[Excerpts] Artillery Marshal Georgiy Yefimovich Peredelskiy, an active participant in the Great Patriotic War, has died after a serious illness. He devoted his entire conscious life to selfless service of the socialist motherland and the cause of the Communist Party, of which he had been a member since 1939.

G.Ye. Peredelskiy was born in 1913 in the village of Orlovka, Chulymskiy Rayon, Novosibirsk Oblast, in the family of a peasant laborer. In 1934, he was drafted to the Soviet Army and traveled a glorious path from Red Army soldier to artillery marshal.

He was in the active Army throughout the Great Patriotic War and commanded an artillery regiment. He displayed personal courage and valor under complex conditions of the combat situation.

In the postwar period, he served in various command and headquarter posts. He commanded the missile troops and artillery of the Northern and Transcaucasus military districts. For 14 years, he was the commander of the ground forces missile troops and artillery. Since 1983, he had been inspector and adviser to the USSR Defense Ministry group of general inspectors. [passage omitted]

The glorious memory of Georegiy Yefimovich Peredelskiy, that loyal son of the Communist Party and Soviet people and ardent patriot of the motherland, will be preserved forever in our hearts.

D.T. Yazov, A.I. Lukyanov, S.F. Akhromeyev, V.G. Kulikov, P.G. Lushev, A.D. Lizichev, N.I. Savinkin, Yu.P. Maksimov, Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, I.M. Tretyak, A.N. Yefimov, V.N. Chernavin, M.I. Sorokin, S.K. Kurkotkin, V.M. Shabaov, N.S. Shestopalov, V.L. Govorov, D.S. Sukhorukov, A.I. Sorokin, V.S. Nechayev, D.A. Volkogonov, V.I. Petrov, V.F. Tolubko, I.N. Shkadov, I.G. Pavlovskiy, M.D. Popkov, S.I. Postnikov, D.A. Grinkevich, V.M. Mikhalkin, P.N. Kuleshov, K.P. Kazakov, Ye.V. Boychuk, M.Ye. Penkin, Ye.M. Komarov, I.G. Kuznetsov, Yu.I. Shumilikhin, V.G. Kryukov, A.I. Matveyev, S.I. Klyapin, A.Ye. Khlopenko, M.D. Sidorov, L.S. Sapkov, V.A. Grishantsov, Ye.V. Stroganov, I.N. Anashkin.

Warsaw Pact Commander on Nuclear-Free Europe

For a *Xinhua News Agency* report citing the Helsinki Daily *Keshisuomalainen* interview with Warsaw Pact Commander-in-Chief V. G. Kulikov, see the East Europe section of the 23 November China *Daily Report*.

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